JANUARY 1989

WILL HONG KONG SURVIVE?

$2.50

reason

FREE MINDS & FREE MARKETS

Rand Film Resurrected

America's Resurgence in the New World

Why the Doomsayers Are Wrong

Tricky Mikhy

Leftie Shoot-'em-Ups

Bye-bye, Camelot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Exercise More with Less

■ *MORE EFFECTIVE*
By duplicating the motion of cross country skiing, the world's best exercise, NordicTrack provides the ideal aerobic workout. Your total body is exercised simultaneously.

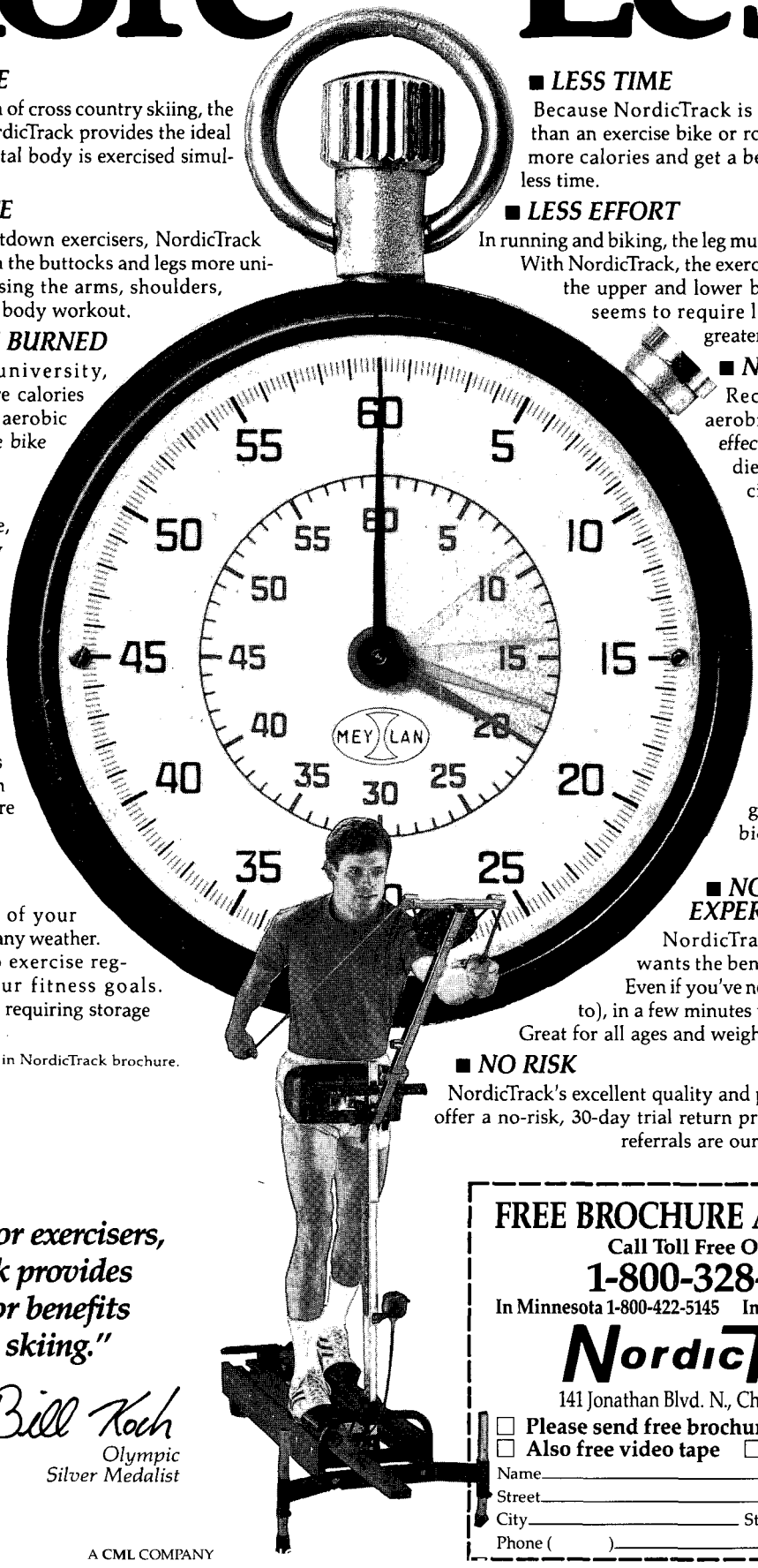
■ *MORE COMPLETE*
Unlike bikes and other sitdown exercisers, NordicTrack exercises major muscles in the buttocks and legs more uniformly, as well as exercising the arms, shoulders, and back. You get a total body workout.

■ *MORE CALORIES BURNED*
In tests at a major university, NordicTrack burned more calories and provided a greater aerobic workout than an exercise bike and a rowing machine.*

■ *MORE UNIFORM*
Unlike a rowing machine, you can independently adjust NordicTrack's resistance for upper and lower body muscles for a more thorough, balanced workout. Major muscles are neither overstressed nor underworked. Plus NordicTrack's patented flywheel system provides a smooth, rhythmic motion that makes exercising more pleasant.

■ *MORE CONVENIENT*
Exercise in the comfort of your home, any time of day, in any weather. You'll be more likely to exercise regularly and achieve your fitness goals. NordicTrack folds easily, requiring storage space of only 17" x 23".

*Scientific test results included in NordicTrack brochure.



■ *LESS TIME*
Because NordicTrack is so much more efficient than an exercise bike or rowing machine, you burn more calories and get a better aerobic workout in less time.

■ *LESS EFFORT*
In running and biking, the leg muscles do most of the work. With NordicTrack, the exercise workload is shared by the upper and lower body muscles, so exercise seems to require less effort and provides greater cardiovascular benefits.

■ *NO DIETING*
Recent studies show that aerobic exercise is much more effective for losing weight than dieting. And no other exercise machine burns more calories than Nordic Track... So you can lose weight faster without dieting.

■ *NO IMPACT*
Running and some aerobic workouts can cause painful and harmful jarring to the body, resulting in knee, shin, back and other injuries. NordicTrack gives you a vigorous aerobic workout that is completely jarless.

■ *NO SKIING EXPERIENCE REQUIRED*
NordicTrack is for everyone who wants the benefits of regular exercise. Even if you've never skied (and never plan to), in a few minutes you'll soon be "tracking." Great for all ages and weights.

■ *NO RISK*
NordicTrack's excellent quality and performance allows us to offer a no-risk, 30-day trial return privilege. In fact, customer referrals are our largest source of orders.

"Of all the indoor exercisers, only NordicTrack provides the same superior benefits as cross country skiing."

Bill Koch
Olympic Silver Medalist

FREE BROCHURE AND VIDEO
Call Toll Free Or Write:

1-800-328-5888

In Minnesota 1-800-422-5145 In Canada 1-800-433-9582

NordicTrack

141 Jonathan Blvd. N., Chaska, MN 55318

☐ **Please send free brochure**
☐ **Also free video tape** ☐ **VHS** ☐ **BETA**

Name_____
Street_____
City_____ State____ Zip____
Phone ( )_____ 300A9

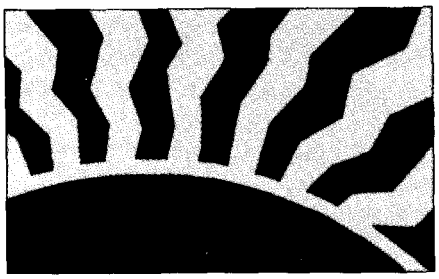
© 1988 NordicTrack

A CML COMPANY

reason

Free Minds & Free Markets

January 1989/Vol. 20, No. 8



FEATURES

22
America's Rising Sun
Joel Kotkin
Immigrants and America's revolutionary heritage make for a dynamic mix that promises to rout the doomsayers.

28
Budget Balancing Act
John J. Pitney, Jr.
What's all the fuss about a constitutional convention?

32
Nervously Awaiting 1997
Burton Abrams
It sounds like the premise of a situation comedy: Old, stodgy Communist China is about to adopt the wild child, Hong Kong. But the potential for tragedy is there.

36
Camelot Will Not Return
James M. Buchanan
The romantic view of the state is on the wane.

EDITORIALS

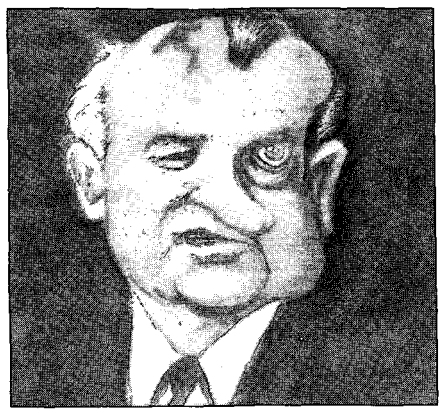
8
1988, Year of Hope
Marty Zupan

10
Sure-Fire Campaign Reform
Virginia I. Postrel

11
No Tipping
Craig M. Collins

COLUMNS

38
Waiting for Kremlingate
Adam Garfinkle/Gorbachev Watch



40
With Aid Like This...
Melanie S. Tammen/Follies

42
Guide to Glasnost's Best
Alexandra York/Hungary

58
Financial Aid Treadmill
John Hood/Viewpoint

LIFE & LIBERTY

46
Ayn Rand Rediscovered
Robert James Bidinotto
The 1942 film *We The Living*, now revived, is a grand old movie.

47
Shoot-'em-Ups Go Left
Richard Marin
They flex their pecs for *glasnost*.

THE BOOK CASE

50
Mr. Inside Becomes Mr. Outside
John A. Barnes
William F. Buckley, Jr., by John Judis

51
Moral Sense and Hard Facts
Paul Hornak
The Electric Windmill, by Tom Bethell

52
Lenin in Public, Lenin in Private
Martin Morse Wooster
The Revolutionist, by Robert Littell
Lenin: A Novel, by Alan Brien

54
Africa's Chinese Tragedy
Steven W. Mosher
Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa, by Philip Snow

56
Only the Chimneys Remained
T. A. Heppenheimer
Uncovering Soviet Disasters, by James E. Oberg

DEPARTMENTS

4
Letters

14
Brickbats

16
Trends
Freedom and Peace in Poland, welfare mothers in real estate, farm subsidies in trouble, VATs entertainment...

Cover illustration by Tim Teebken

REASON *(ISSN 0048-6906) is published monthly except combined August-September issue by the Reason Foundation, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405. Second-class postage paid at Santa Monica, CA, and additional mailing offices.* **POSTMASTER:** *Send address changes to REASON, Box 3724, Escondido, CA 92025* *Copyright © 1988 by the Reason Foundation. All rights reserved. Reproduction or use, without permission, of editorial or graphic content is prohibited. REASON is a registered trademark owned by the Reason Foundation.* **SUBSCRIPTIONS:** *$24.00 per year. Outside U.S. add $8/year surface, $36/year airmail. Address all subscription correspondence to REASON, Box 3724, Escondido, CA 92025, 619/485-9623 or 566-6947. For address change (allow six weeks), provide old address and new address, including zip code.* **UNSOLICITED MANUSCRIPTS** *returned only if accompanied by SASE.* **INDEXED** *in Historical Abstracts, Political Science Abstracts, PAIS Bulletin, and Public Issues Index. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.*

LETTERS

Drug-Vote-Crazed

Regarding the collection of views you published in "America After Prohibition" (Oct.): Most thinking people now realize that drug prohibition increases crime and makes huge profits for drug black-marketeers and corrupt government officials. But two things prevent the acceptance of drug legalization. First, fear that the easier availability of now-illicit drugs would increase abuse to the level of abuse of alcohol and tobacco, which kill over a quarter million Americans a year. Second, the belief that laws must send a message that drug abuse is a no-no.

Both objections to legalization would be addressed to the satisfaction of rational holders of these views, and the crime problems associated with the black market eliminated, if decriminalization rather than legalization were adopted as optimum social policy. This would mean that all personal drug use, trade, and production would be treated as a citable infraction like a speeding ticket. The black market in drugs would collapse because of the drop in prices, and the associated crime would disappear. And since it is easy to police open-market sales, drug availability would not increase, nor would levels of abuse. Finally, this would satisfy those who look to the law to send a message of potential harm from drugs.

Penalties could even be waived in court upon a showing of no harm from the use or from the showing of a consumer's drug-use certificate indicating knowledge of the dangers of abuse and the safe levels of drug usage. This approach makes far more sense than the spectacle of drug-vote-crazed members of Congress passing laws to subject users of intoxicants that are no more harmful than a glass of wine or whiskey to five years in prison and fines of $10,000 and trying to take away from all of us the right to privacy in the Fourth Amendment, turning the United States into a police state.

Randall Grindle
Lower Lake, CA

WHILE I BASICALLY AGREE with Ron Paul's views on drugs, he is unrealistic about the effect of legalization on drug-related crime. The price of drugs would drop dramatically, yes, but let's remember that many addicts are not disposed to work to support their habits. Certainly, many are not desirable employees. Drug-related crime would continue.

Paul states that "there is no violence associated with acquiring alcohol." But there are neighborhoods where one is at risk of being hit over the head so that his attacker can purchase liquor.

While drug-related crime would continue, it would certainly diminish. What is also important to remember is that by not throwing away billions of dollars in a "war against drugs," many of these dollars could be spent in dealing more effectively with these crimes. Of the balance, we can hope that a significant portion might be left in the pockets of citizens who could exercise "individual responsibility" through such options as taking self-defense classes and purchasing burglar alarms.

John M. Campbell
Rockaway, NJ

Communicate with REASON!
We appreciate receiving your letters, typed double-space and limited to 200 words. Letters sent to REASON will be considered for publication (unless otherwise noted) and may be subject to abridgement or editorial comment.
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405

Who Says Third Parties Can't Succeed?

I hate to disillusion you all ("Radical Views, Conservative Style," Nov.), but the last time a third party took over the second spot in the United States was in 1912, when the Progressive Party came

REASON

Editor and Publisher Robert W. Poole, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief Marty Zupan
Associate Editor Virginia I. Postrel
Assistant Editor Craig M. Collins
Book Review Editor Lynn Scarlett
Editorial Assistant Charles B. Oliver
Editorial Intern John Hood

Art Director Andrea Reibsamen
Production Manager Nanette Campbell

Circulation Director Steve Willard
Advertising Director Arthur N. Markos

Senior Editors Manuel S. Klausner, Tibor R. Machan

Contributing Editors
Doug Bandow, Bruce Bartlett, Tom Bethell, Samuel L. Blumenfeld, David Brudnoy, Joe Cobb, Timothy Condon, Mark Edward Crane, James Dale Davidson, Thomas Hazlett, David Henderson, Michael McMenamin, Alan Reynolds, Jeff Riggenbach, Warren Salomon, Peter Samuel, Stephen Schwartz, Mark Skousen, Thomas Szasz, William Tucker, Walter Williams

Foreign Correspondents
Albert Zlabinger — **Austria**
Tahsin Alam — **Bangladesh**
Theo. E. Brenner — **Switzerland**
Otto Brons-Petersen — **Denmark**
Julio Cole — **Bolivia**
Fred Dekkers — **Belgium**
Bruce Evoy — **Canada**
Enrique Ghersi — **Peru**
Ole-Jacob Hoff — **Norway**
Carl G. Holm — **Sweden**
Hubert Jongen — **The Netherlands**
Henri Lepage — **France**
John C. Loulis — **Greece**
Leon M. Louw — **South Africa**
Julio Marquez — **Mexico**
Antonio Martino — **Italy**
Milinda Moragoda — **Sri Lanka**
Daniel L. O'Neal — **The Philippines**
M. Perez — **Spain**
Probir Kumar Sarkar — **India**
Eben Wilson — **Great Britain**
Oded Yinon — **Israel**

Editorial and Production Office
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405

Advertising Sales Office
2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062
Santa Monica, CA 90405
(213) 392-0443

Reason Foundation
Trustees: *Frank Bond, Joseph E. Coberly, Burton Gray, Tony Jackson, Jerry Jordan, Norman Karlin, David H. Keyston, Manuel S. Klausner, David H. Koch, Robert W. Smiley, Jr.*
President: *Robert W. Poole, Jr.*
Business Manager: *John Runde*
Director, Local Government Center: *Philip E. Fixler, Jr.*
Director of Research: *Lynn Scarlett*
Director of Educational Programs: *Greg Rehmke*
Bookkeeper: *Ellen Baker*
Secretary: *Carolyn Diliberto*
Staff Assistant: *Elizabeth Wilcox*
Legal Advisor: *Don Franzen*

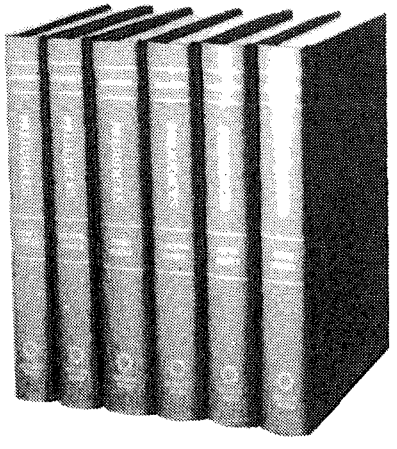
THE MENCKEN PHENOMENON

"I believe in only one thing and that thing is human liberty...I am against any man and any organization which seeks to limit or deny that freedom."

A NEW DICTIONARY OF QUOTATIONS
selected and edited by H. L. Mencken

Mencken wasn't merely a captivating writer, he was an avid student of the writings of others. Near the end of WWI, he began to keep, for his own use, quotations from others that caught his fancy. His friends joined in the fun, and suddenly, in the 1940s, Mencken sprung on the world his *New Dictionary of Quotations*—a mammoth 1347-page tome that outdistances any other "favorite quotation" book you've ever seen. As a book, to browse through, it is fresh, witty and rewarding. As a sourcebook, it is unsurpassed. As an investment, it's a steal. It's like a great novel that continues to enchant forever—the joyous companion of a lifetime. Get yours today!

HL0214 (hardcover) **$49.95**



H.L. MENCKEN SPEAKING

What a delight!—Mencken himself discusses his childhood, career, politicians, reporters, beer and culture. 58 mins.

HL0218 (audio cassette) **$12.95**

THE VINTAGE MENCKEN
edited by Alistair Cooke

One of the best Mencken anthologies, edited by the celebrated Cooke, who has called Mencken "the master craftsman of daily journalism in the twentieth century." A perfect "get acquainted" gift. 240p.

HL0210 (paper) **$3.95**

A CHOICE OF DAYS

This abridgement of Mencken's memoirs captures a bygone era in his ever-fresh and inimitable style. Mencken's zest for life and his wonderful powers of observation make this work one-of-a-kind: buoyant, personal, and charming.

HL0216 (hardcover) **$12.95**

PREJUDICES SERIES

These six volumes were published between 1919 and 1927, when Mencken was at the peak of his career, and had already become a legend. The scope of Mencken's range of interests was vast indeed, and the essays here tackle everything from literature to politics, and from sports to music. Jack Dempsey, Woodrow Wilson, Teddy Roosevelt and Beethoven are all here, but so too are essays on liberty, the nature of government, virtue, journalism, and much, much more. **The definitive Mencken collection.** 6v, 1764p.

HL0208 (hardcover) **$135.00**

THE AMERICAN SCENE: A Reader
edited by Huntington Cairns

This rich selection made by Mencken's longtime friend covers American life, letters, politics, religion, morals, and more. A sampler of Mencken's wit: "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard." 542p.

HL0222 (paper) **$10.95**

A MENCKEN CHRESTOMATHY

Choice selections edited and annotated by Mencken himself. Includes his famous piece on the Scopes trial, plus comments on Woodrow Wilson, both Roosevelts, Lincoln and a host of others. 627p.

HL0211 (paper) **$12.95**

THE AMERICAN LANGUAGE
by H.L. Mencken

A monument to Mencken's erudition and a delight to read. A life-long lover of the American language and a great American prose stylist writing on one of his favorite subjects. 877p.

HL0296 (paper) **$15.95**

H.L. MENCKEN'S UN-NEGLECTED ANNIVERSARY
by P.J. Wingate

This delightful book captures the insight and sparkle of ever-present humor that could only belong to Mencken. 73p.

HL4598 (hardcover) **$5.95**

★ ORDER TOLL-FREE ★

1-800-238-2200 • Ext. 500

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund

Charge your Visa or MasterCard Continental U.S. 24 hours a day. 7 days a week.

DISCOVER THE MENCKEN HERITAGE TODAY!

QTY	BOOK NO.	TITLE	PRICE
TOTAL COST OF BOOKS			
SALES TAX—NY State residents ONLY add sales tax. County Name _____			
Shipping & Handling US Post $2.50. UPS $3.50			
TOTAL AMOUNT—Enclose payment in US dollars drawn on US bank			

Send your order to:

LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Dept. RBYR
532 Broadway,
New York, NY 10012

☐ My check or money order is enclosed for $_____.
☐ Please charge my ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Acct. No. _____ Expir. Date_____

Signature _____

Name (Please Print) _____

Address_____

City/State/Zip _____

Want to brush up on a foreign language?

With Audio-Forum's intermediate and advanced materials, it's easy to maintain and sharpen your foreign language skills.

Besides intermediate and advanced audio-cassette courses—most developed for the U.S. State Dept.—we offer foreign-language mystery dramas, dialogs recorded in Paris, games, music, and many other helpful materials. And if you want to learn a *new* language, we have beginning courses for adults and for children.

We offer introductory and advanced materials in most of the world's languages: French, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Greek, Russian, Portuguese, Korean, Norwegian, Swedish, and many others.

Our 16th Year

Call 1-800-243-1234 for FREE 32-p. catalog, or write:

AUDIO-FORUM® Room C142.
96 Broad Street, Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

Just the Facts

Six times a year, The Pragmatist brings you the facts: How government creates problems or makes them worse. How it squanders our money on causes of all sorts, and what makes that possible. You'll also learn the facts about the marketplace. How it could, and does, leave people of all backgrounds wealthier and more secure.

You won't find any ranting, cheerleading or wishful thinking padding The Pragmatist. Just facts and figures making the case for freedom and abundance. Plus plenty of incisive, thoughtful analysis to go along.

Subscribe today.

___ Send me a year's worth by First Class mail. Here's $10.00 for six issues.

___ I want to see a sample first. Here's $2.00.

Name

Address

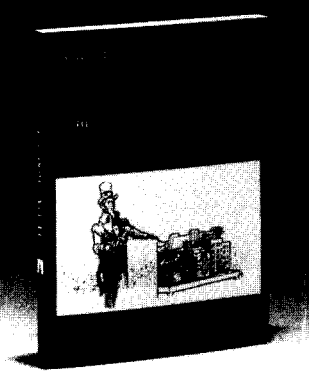
City

State Zip

The Pragmatist

P.O. Box 392 • Forest Grove, PA 18922

THE PRIVATIZATION REVOLUTION



Volume XIV in the Champions of Freedom series on free-market economics examines the greatest political and economic success story in years. Essays by Dick Armey, Stuart M. Butler, Allan C. Carlson, John C. Goodman, J. Peter Grace, George Marotta, and Arthur Shenfield.

"...privatization is not just a passing economic fancy or a way to trim the deficit; it calls for a restoration of ideals badly needed if we are to prosper as individuals and as a nation."

—U.S. Congressman Dick Armey

$5.00 PAPERBOUND (Michigan residents add 4% sales tax)
VISA AND MASTERCARD ORDERS 800-253-3200, EXT. 801

HILLSDALE COLLEGE PRESS
Hillsdale, Michigan 49242

LETTERS

out second, in popular and electoral votes, in the national election, and the Republicans third.

J. Harllee
Florence, SC

The editors reply: We hate to split hairs, but REASON stands by its statement that "no third party has taken over second spot since the Republicans displaced the Whigs in 1856." Teddy Roosevelt's 1912 performance did not break the Democratic-Republican duopoly.

REA Leaves People in the Dark

A friend tells me it's not quite true that "electricity reached every hill and hollow by the mid-1960s" ("FDR's Juvenile Delinquents," Editorials, Nov.). There are *still* places without electricity around Chattanooga. The electrification of one such place made headlines here recently. The Rural Electrification Administration has not only subsidized "the affluent suburbs of Atlanta...and Nashville." It has also failed to do its job—and the Tennessee Valley Authority, in the very heart of its bailiwick, has likewise failed.

Andrew Lohr
Red Bank, TN

This Letter Printed on 100 Percent Recycled Paper

REASON is a superb publication. But in the Balance Sheet item titled "Eco-Hysteria" (Trends, Nov.), Virginia I. Postrel chooses rhetoric over reason in belittling legitimate environmental challenges: "We're not just running out of gas this time. The seas will boil. The skies will burn. AIDS-filled needles will wash up on shore and kill us all. This is not politics, it's not economics, it's fire-and-brimstone, apocalyptic religion."

Your hysteria discredits free-market thought. It implies that we have no answers to environmental challenges, and so prefer to pretend they don't exist. Rather than drawing us as narrow ideologues, rise to the challenge.

Free markets find their strongest theo-

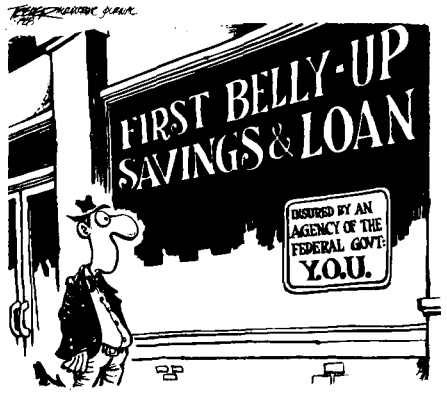
retical foundation in nature. A healthy economy and healthy ecosystem operate by the same rules: both are enriched by diversity. Both advance through a complex interplay of competition and cooperation. Both depend on freedom, which facilitates creation and progressive evolution. A free-market environmental policy would internalize the costs of pollution and waste, end water subsidies, charge polluters (all of us) the full cost of their activities. Take the time to draw out these ideas in your pages. Build a constituency among environmentalists, rather than condemn them. Until free-market thinking moves beyond the easy issues and grapples with the problems that embolden community activists, it will remain peripheral, never winning the popular support it deserves.

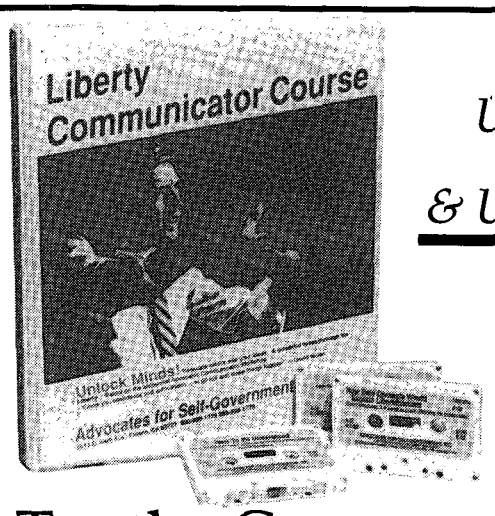
William K. Shireman
Sacramento, CA

It's a Dog's Life

I am a practicing veterinarian. I read REASON with a great deal of interest, but your comparison of $5.00 fees by groomers to $100 fees by veterinarians for dental care for dogs (Brickbats, Nov.) alarmed me considerably about your data gathering. A groomer, or anybody, can probably safely brush a dog's teeth. However, state-of-the-art veterinary dentistry requires general anesthetic for the pet, sophisticated machinery, and expertise acquired through education and experience. Veterinary dentistry is not just a "tooth-brushing," and the fee is set accordingly.

Wendy Fagan, D.V.M.
Fenton, MO





You'll Understand Others & Unlock Minds

Try the Communicator Course for 15 Days... Free!

Have you met indifference, ridicule, even anger? Now— with the Liberty Communicator Course— you can learn the secrets of effective communication. This 20 hour course includes 16 cassettes plus workbook and training aids.

The Communicator skills can be used in any situation to show others the value of liberty. Discussions with friends, family, co-workers. Media interviews. Speeches.

"I'm intrigued by the paradox that the same course helps both sides of the assertiveness problem. Those who are shy build courage and confidence. Those who are aggressive learn control and diplomacy."
— Philip Mitchell, Lafayette, CA.

"The Liberty Communicator Course gives you confidence and enthusiasm to go out and make things happen"
—David Nolan, Costa Mesa, CA.

David Bergland, Philip Mitchell and Marshall Fritz present:

- *How To Be Understood & Get What You Want*
- *How Dale Carnegie Would Present Libertarianism*
- *The Ransberger Pivot*
- *Tough Question Workshop*
- *How To Speak To High School Students*
- *How To Be Interviewed By Newspapers & Talk Shows*
- *How To Speak To Service Clubs... and more*

***PLUS**... The Ayn Rand In Each Of Us by Barbara Branden & Peter Breggin*

Order Risk Free, 15-Day Free Trial From: Advocates for Self-Government, 5533 E Swift, Fresno, CA 93727, 800-932-1776 or 209-292-1776

❑ Yes, send me, on a 15-day approval basis, the first four tapes, the handsome album and workbook. The remaining 12 tapes will arrive at three tapes every month. You may charge my credit card $19.95 per month, plus $2.00 shipping ($4 shipping outside U.S.A.).
I have 15 days to examine each set of tapes. I can stop the program at any time without penalty.
Charge my: ❑MasterCard ❑VISA

Card # _____ expires _____
Signature X _____
❑ I'd like to save the shipping fees by paying in advance $99.95. I understand this is on a satisfaction moneyback guarantee.

Name _____

Address _____

Apt _____ City _____ State _____

ZIP _____ Phone _____

Mail To: Advocates for Self-Government, Inc., 5533 E Swift/**RE4**, Fresno, CA 93727, or order toll-free 800-932-1776 (xCA), 209-292-1776 (CA).

1988, YEAR OF HOPE

MARTY ZUPAN

When the balance sheet for 1988 is added up, it must surely be deemed a year of surprising gains in the struggle for freedom.

Burma, which had suffered for 26 years under one-party socialist rule, offered the most drama. At first it seemed we were witnessing a replay of Filipino people power. Massive street revolts forced the resignation of iron-fisted Ne Win and then of his successor, the former head of state security. But, just when it appeared that the opposition had routed a despotic government, the Burmese military unexpectedly resurrected the iron fist.

But as hopes were being dashed in Burma, the universal yearning for human freedom bubbled up elsewhere. In Poland a series of strikes provoked by a new generation of Solidarity leaders forced the hand of the Polish government. The government called a special session of the legislature—heretofore a familiar response only in Western democracies—to deal with the crisis.

In Czechoslovakia, 10,000 protestors turned out for a march commemorating the reformist Prague Spring 20 years earlier. It was the first mass protest since 1969.

In Hungary, miners engaged in the first officially acknowledged strike in more than 30 years, demanding pay increases to reduce the squeeze of new taxes. A reform-minded government quickly conceded a point, slashing new income taxes on bonuses.

In the Baltic countries of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, the natives are growing restless. This year, "popular fronts" were formed in all three, and they now rival the local Communist Party in membership. These fronts have held several-day congresses to hammer out platforms demanding measures of autonomy ranging from economic self-determination, the right to veto mandates from Moscow, and an end to atheistic education in the schools (Latvia), to constitutional guarantees of private property and an end to compulsory military service (Estonia). The Estonian front even announced plans to run its own candidates in 1989 elections (not even Solidarity has attempted such a challenge to Communist Party rule).

Halfway around the world, the citizens of Chile peaceably voted against eight more years of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the dictator whose junta seized power in 1972. In troubled Haiti, an internal revolt of 30 young military officers and noncoms brought to power Lt. Gen. Prosper Avril, who moved quickly to clean up pervasive graft in the military, end its bloody oppression, and effect a transition to democracy.

Why this seemingly contagious ferment for freedom? Some of the possible reasons augur well for millions of oppressed people around the globe.

Consider first how the information revolution is hopelessly complicating the life of the dictator. Except in places such as Albania and Ethiopia, where rigidly imposed isolation or grinding poverty prevent the speedy and thorough spread of information, it has become next to impossible for governments to keep people from knowing what is happening both outside and inside their own country.

Can anyone doubt that protesting students and workers in Burma drew inspiration from the dramatic events in the Philippines two years earlier? Estonian economists now propose that their country operate as a special economic zone within the USSR, with its own currency and rights to foreign trade; their model is Communist China's lately devised special economic zones.

Within countries, the technology of the information revolution is likewise debilitating the best efforts of dictators who may still be able to shut down the press (Burma) or control the supply of newsprint (Nicaragua). The personal computer is still relatively expensive—and controllable. But the lowly radio and tape recorder, ever cheaper and smaller, are widely available.

From China come reports that a student speech pleading for democratic freedoms will be taped, copied, and distributed through the underground. In Latvia, people kept up with the two-day meeting of the Popular Front on radios held to their ears, just like baseball fanatics in America following their favorite team. A Roman Catholic Mass at the conclusion of Lithuania's Popular Front meeting was broadcast live on radio and television—a first in a Communist country. And this summer a young East German woman may have been directly saved by a video camera. In broad daylight and in full view of Western tourists, she jumped into the river Spree to swim from East to West Berlin. A guard in a pursuing patrol boat had his gun aimed; but a British visitor on the West German side had his video camera aimed as well, and the East German police backed off.

Second, and relatedly, even dictators are not all immune to opinion, that of their own people and that of the world. It is strange but possibly true that Chile's Pinochet, having restored a measure of economic prosperity, would like to be remembered as a ruler who had the guts also to restore democracy. Certainly Haiti's new military head of government seems so motivated: "My vision," he told Ameri-

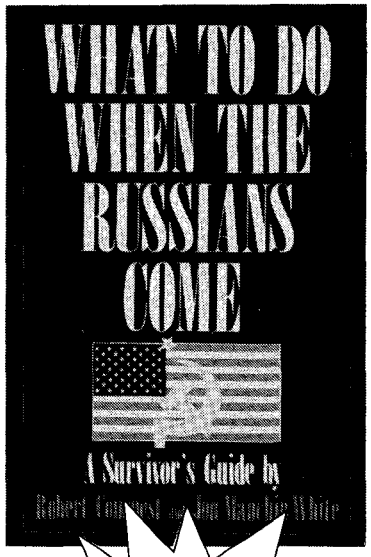
Strange advice from the authors:

BURN THIS BOOK

But that's only the beginning, if the peaceniks have their way and Russia ever does take over. The alternative might be to spend the rest of your days up near the Arctic Circle.

Say, what's going on here? Has the Conservative Book Club suddenly started offering kooky books?

Not on your life — and we use those words advisedly. This one is by Robert Conquest, who probably knows as much about the Soviets as any Westerner alive today. Conquest, now a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, wrote the classic study of Stalin's reign of murder, *The Great Terror*. Co-author Jon Manchip White is the Lindsay Young Professor of English at the University of Tennessee. So you'll be reading a serious book about a grim possibility. This isn't a *1984*-style fantasy. *This book is based entirely upon what hundreds of millions have suffered when the Communists took over — but with ingenious variations added especially for America.*



FREE *with Club membership*

When the Soviets Come

- How the Soviets "will establish their grip on the political organization of the U.S."
- The unlucky 20 percent: what awaits us. And for those *not* arrested, you're doomed to the daily grind, which Conquest and White spell out in detail.
- How particular people are likely to fare: professionals, liberals, ethnics, clergymen, dozens more.
- The inevitable Resistance Movement: long and short term prospects. How you might become a part of it. What methods will work best.

Life in the New America

- Rationing, currency "reform," and other "economic adjustments" sure to come. Businesses that will close immediately. The lucky few that may thrive (so to speak).
- The chilling war-and-its-aftermath scenario "commonly found in Soviet military literature."
- When famine hits America: watch for these telltale signs beforehand.
- Major immediate problems, not excluding gang rape by the invading Russian troops (who will be called "peacekeepers").
- Raising kids under the new regime.
- From the official Soviet list of people subject to repression in the Baltic states, some lessons.
- What will happen to your house. Your car. Things you take for granted now that you'll drool over then.
- The New America: 7 characteristics.
- Where the resistance activity will start. What it will have to do first. How the Communists will counter the freedom fighters. Where to learn about guerrilla warfare, and about *surviving*.

It *could* happen. And if enough people scoff at the possibility, it *will* happen. Paradoxically, this book not only helps you prepare for the worst. It also helps it *not* to happen.

"A startling account of what to expect in the U.S. if we become so spineless that the Soviets take us over . . . If there is truly such a thing as must reading, *What to Do When the Russians Come* is that book."—*Wall Street Journal*

"Sober . . . hair-raising . . . makes scary sense. . . . Overdone? Scarcely. Anyone who knows the literature on the Czechs, Poles, East Germans, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Afghans, Vietnamese, and on the dissenters, resisters and refuseniks in the Soviet Union itself, will be impressed by the low key of the book."—Max Lerner, *New York Post*

How to get this $14.95 book FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 OAKLAND AVENUE • HARRISON, NY 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send FREE *What to Do When the Russians Come* by Robert Conquest & J. M. White. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

R-69

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

can journalists, "is to enter history as one who has saved the country from anarchy and dictatorship and who has asked for the establishment of an irreversible democracy."

The Economist suggests that even one of the most unbudgeable tyrants, Romania's Nicolae Ceauşescu, could be pressured out of his ruthless scheme to uproot half the villagers of Romania and resettle them in "agro-industrial centers." "Ceauşescu longs for flattery in the big wide world. Insult this vanity—by vocal condemnation and ridicule at...international gatherings—and western countries might just prevent a lot of senseless destruction in Romania."

Finally, it does not seem too soon to speculate that Mikhail Gorbachev's push for economic reform in the Soviet Union, whatever its own ultimate outcome, may be rippling in unintended yet beneficial ways throughout the world. Hungary is openly critical of its comrades' latest scheme in Romania, home to nearly 2 million people of Hungarian descent. But Gorbachev, what with holding down the home front, has declined to intervene. Likewise the stirrings of independence in the Baltic states are benignly tolerated, in evident hopes that Gorbachev will win much-needed popular support. And now, political turmoil in Yugoslavia—nonaligned but ever-mindful of the might of the Soviet Union—is leading some observers to speculate that it may become the first Communist nation to abandon the creed.

Of course, it would be foolish to predict that 1988 marks a turning point in history, a moment from which future observers will date a measurable flowering of freedom. We cannot predict. We can only hope.

SURE-FIRE CAMPAIGN REFORM

VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

The campaign is over. The campaign reform campaign has just begun. Everyone, it seems, has a plan to fix up the election process. Outlaw PACs. Don't let candidates raise money from anyone outside their districts. Slap spending limits on congressional races. Force broadcasters to give candidates free air time.

Trouble is, these plans won't work. Some are better than others, but all are misconceived.

Consider the problem they're supposed to solve. Incumbents, especially in the House, never lose. (Only four lost in '88.) They also raise more money than they know what to do with—and a lot more than their opponents raise. House members garnered some $137 million between January 1, 1987, and September 30, 1988, compared to $25 million raised by challengers. The PAC figures are even more lopsided: $62 million for incumbents, $5 million for challengers.

But this disparity didn't just happen. Congress made it illegal for individuals to give as much as they want to the candidates of their choice. And it let PACs dole out more campaign contributions than individuals. Individuals might give out of ideological fervor or personal affection. But corporations, unions, and trade associations don't. They want results, and they can't take chances on losers.

As one unidentified PAC manager told *Time*, "The core of our business is access to legislators. We can get shut out if we give to challengers who lose." This is one anonymous statement so obviously true it needs no attribution.

And it goes to the heart of what's really wrong with the current system and why the stench of corruption rises from even the most above-board contributions. Elections are not about money. They're about power.

Incumbents raise big bucks because they wield big power. They can grant huge favors to their friends or deliver crushing blows to their enemies. In particular, they have the power to tax and the power to regulate. Campaign contributions have become less a vote of approval than a kind of protection money.

None of the popular reform proposals would ameliorate this situation. And reform would have to come from the same people who have already rigged the rules in their favor—incumbents. It's naive to think they'll pass laws to hurt themselves.

Most reformers want to cut down on the amount of money in campaigns, either by establishing spending limits or by making it harder for people to give. But the *only* way a challenger can mount an effective campaign is to spend lots of money, particularly on TV ads. This is especially true in large cities, where there may be dozens of congressional races—all ignored by the local media because they lack general interest. All that most voters in my district knew about the Republican challenger, for instance, was what appeared on the ballot: his name and occupation.

So, suggest some, we should make broadcasters give candidates free commercial time. This idea, which was proposed as a bill last session, exemplifies what ails Congress—it is much too quick to expropriate whatever it wants. Candidates are no different from General Mills; they should have to pay for what they take. (And I, for one, don't want Lyndon LaRouche popping up on my TV every night.)

But what about eliminating PACs or limiting contributors to people in the home district? For a few years, these reforms might actually help challengers, until incumbents' lawyers inevitably found the loopholes. But such proposals ignore a fundamental fact about Congress. It governs the nation, not just a bunch of districts. People who can't vote for (or against) John Dingell, for instance, have to live with what he does as chairman of the House Energy and Commerce Committee. And campaign contributions, despite their flaws, do act as something of a check on congressional power.

There are a few reforms that might alter the balance between incumbents and challengers. We could limit congressional terms, to, say, two for senators and six for representatives. But that would take a constitutional amendment, always a tricky matter, and cutting off voters' choices generally isn't a good idea. Plus, lame ducks may govern even less responsibly than people who just might have to face a real election.

A less dramatic change—but one that's a good idea in and of itself—would be to eliminate franking privileges. Congress pestered constituents with 600 million pieces of mail last year, free of charge. Based on the cheapest rate available, for nonprofit bulk mail, that amounts to a $50.4-million subsidy to incumbents, not including wages for people in the con-

gressional mailroom. Getting rid of the blank postage check wouldn't stop lawmakers from communicating with their constituents. They could still pay for mailings out of their budgets. But they'd have to consider the cost and make tradeoffs like the rest of us. (And, who knows, maybe they'd develop a little more sympathy for postal competition.)

The best campaign reform would be to scrap campaign reform—to legalize any and all contributions but still require disclosure. Yes, disclosure represents a slight invasion of privacy, and it makes me uncomfortable. But, voters ought to know who's backing what candidate, and, frankly, they won't have it any other way.

Technical fixes can't reform the political system. They may even make it worse, as they have so far. As long as Congress can reward and punish, taking from the many and giving to the few, interest groups will find a way to influence its votes—if only to protect themselves.

Political favors can come in more benign forms, too. Right now, ordinary citizens depend on friendly congressional staff to negotiate the ever-expanding bureaucracy, to get Uncle Joe his Social Security check and Mom her passport. Do enough such favors and you'll be reelected for life, maybe even longer.

Only by limiting the size and scope of government will we ever achieve real campaign reform. And that will take a very, very long campaign.

NO TIPPING

CRAIG M. COLLINS

Most people's eyes, including mine, glaze over immediately at the mention of anything so boring as capital market theory. But Congress is about to wage another war as costly and futile as the war on drugs. Before we allow our government to put citizens in prison for 10 years and fine them millions of dollars, all of which is contained in the latest insider trading bill passed by Congress, we should reconsider whether insider trading should even be illegal.

Some analysts believe insider trading is actually *good* for the economy. Share prices are supposed to reflect the value of a company. By trading on their secret information, insiders might make this happen more quickly.

Nor is it clear whether other investors are made better or worse off by insider trading. Share prices rise when insiders start buying. Some other investors lose because of this, but some gain. There is no way to measure the amounts of these losses and gains. And some economists think insider trading makes price changes more gradual and smooths fluctuations in stock prices.

Indeed, most of what falls under the SEC's ethereal definition of this heinous crime is perfectly legal for every product except securities. If I buy a car or a toaster, and if I know more than the seller about the future value of these products, that's not a crime. It's smart shopping on my part. But if I buy shares of stock in a company that owns nothing but these same cars and toasters, suddenly I could be liable for fines and prison.

Certainly company insiders should be prosecuted under existing fraud laws if they produce false news, and perhaps also if they profit on price changes after deliberately harming their companies. But almost all insider trading is buying or selling on valid information that others do not yet have. That is as harmless, and in many ways as beneficial, as trading by outsiders based on shrewd acumen that others do not have.

Some analysts disagree. But happily there is no need to settle this debate in order to know the proper government policy, which is to leave inside traders alone. The government should let private stock exchanges decide for themselves what rules to impose on insider trading and how to enforce those rules. Baseball fans can argue endlessly about whether the major leagues should have a designated hitter rule, but the government need not be concerned. American League owners can make up their own rule and enforce it against violators. National League members can make up their own rule. The stock exchanges should be free to do the same with regard to insider trading.

People justify the government's involvement on the grounds that investors will not put money into the market if they think they might get shafted by some insider. It is good for the economy, according to this argument, when companies find it easy to raise capital. But the corporations that use the stock exchanges for raising capital have combined assets of...what, about a bezillion dollars? They can afford to hire a few securities umpires of their own if they deem it in their collective best interest. Their individual portions of this cost will be tiny.

Think of SEC Chairman David Ruder stopping to get his shoes shined. Every year the shoeshine man gives up part of his meager earnings in taxes so that Ruder can go to his nice office and assist Exxon in raising capital. Trust me. Exxon will do okay without taking money from shoeshine men.

BY THE WAY...

■ They said it... A reader sent us a copy of the *Postal Employees' Newsletter*, wherein postal functionaries complained that the Republican platform "zeroed-in on the U.S. Postal Service in no uncertain terms." Here's what the platform actually promised to do: "defederalize, denationalize and decentralize government monopolies that poorly service the public and waste taxpayers' dollars." Postscript: we're waiting.

■ Meanwhile, the winner of REASON's Post Awful Contest was not the man whose postal carrier admitted she was illiterate and delivered mail by matching characters with street signs and addresses. It was not the Olympic athlete whose two gold medals seem to have been irretrievably launched into the USPS's version of the Bermuda Triangle by its overnight express service. (Incidentally, maybe we could solve our toxic waste problem by mailing it across country. Odds are that much of it would disappear forever.) The winner is Jeanne Blahut of Seattle. She sent in an article about a husband-and-wife singing duo who sent out 600 postcards to promote an upcoming concert. The local post office apparently lost all of them. In a panic, just days before the concert, the couple brought a sample postcard to their local postal claims clerk to help him find the missing cards. No luck. Oh, and then the post office lost the sample postcard, too. ◻

IS YOUR NAME HERE?

BELOW are the names of some of the most distinguished American families. Our research staff has, over a period of years, completed a manuscript history of each of these families. If your surname is listed you should have your manuscript. We believe you will find it not only of keen interest, but a source of pride and satisfaction for yourself and your kinsmen.

THESE FAMILY HISTORIES $30.00 EACH

Each manuscript is a GENEALOGICAL and HISTORICAL study of the family from earliest times. It records the origin and growth of the family in Europe; its place among the gentry there; its part in the early settlement and subsequent history of America, including service in the Revolutionary War; and its achievements and leading representatives in this country. The derivation and meaning of the name is traced; recurrent family traits are brought out; and genealogical data on various lines are set forth. A valuable bibliography is included, as well as the authoritative description of a family coat of arms.

Each history is a separate and distinct work painstakingly compiled from the most authentic sources. Reproduced on fine paper and bound in a handsome black cover stamped in silver ink, it is suitably designed for filing among your family records or other documents.

With your order we will send *The Romance of Coats of Arms*, an informative, unique publication that is illustrated in full color. If you order promptly, we will also include, at no extra cost, our specially designed Ancestry Chart. It measures 17 by 22 inches and contains spaces in which to record the names of your ancestors in all lines for eight generations.

The coupon or a letter, with $30.00 (no other charge), will bring you your manuscript, *The Romance*, and The Ancestry Chart by first class mail. Satisfaction is assured by our money back guarantee. Any two manuscripts may be had for $50.00, any three for $75.00. Send for yours today. Roots Research Bureau, Ltd., 39 W. 32 Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10001.

Look Also For Your Mother's and Grandmother's Maiden Names

ABBOT(T)
ABEL(L)
ABERNATHY
ABERNETHY
ABRAHAM(S)
ABRAMS
ACHESON
A(C)KERLY
ACKERMAN
ACKERS
ACTON
ADAIR
ADAM(S)
ADKINS
AGAR
AGER
AGNEW
AIKEN(S)
AINSWORTH
AITKEN
AKERS
ALBERT(S)
ALBRECHT
ALBRIGHT
ALDEN
ALDERMAN
ALDERSON
ALDRICH
ALDRIDGE
ALEXANDER
ALFORD
ALGER
ALLAN
ALLEN
ALLISON
ALLMAN
ALSOP
ALSTON
ALVORD
AMANN
AMBLER
AMBROSE
AMES
AMMANN
AMMON
AMOS
ANDERSON
ANDREW(S)
ANGEL(L)
ANTHONY
ANTRIM
APPLEBY
APPLEGATE
APPLETON
ARCHER
ARCH(I)BALD
ARMI(S)TEAD
ARMITAGE
ARMSTRONG
ARNDT
ARNETT
ARNOLD
ARNOTT
ARROWSMITH
ARTHUR
ASBURY
ASHBY
ASHE(I)
ASHLEY
ASHTON
'ASTON
ATCHISON
ATHERTON
ATKINS
ATKINSON
ATWATER
ATWELL
ATWILL
ATWOOD
AUBR(E)Y
AUSTIN
AVERELL
AVERILL
AVERY
AXTELL
AYER(S)
AYRES
BABBITT
BABCOCK
BABER
BACH(E)
BACHMAN(S)
BACON
BADCOCK
BADGER
BADGLEY
BAER
BAGGETT
BAGGOTT
BAGLEY
BAGWELL
BAILEY
BAINBRIDGE
BAIN(E)(S)
BAIRD
BAKER
BALCH
BALCOM(B)
BALDRIDGE
BALDWIN
BALL
BALLANTINE
BALLANTYNE
BALLARD
BALLENGER
BALLENTINE
BALLINGER
BALLOU
BAMFORD
BANCROFT
BANGS
BANISTER
BANK(E)S
BANNING
BANNISTER
BANTA
BARBEE
BARBOUR
BARCLAY
BARCROFT
BARD
BARDEN
BARDIN
BARDON
BARDWELL
BARKER
BARKLEY
BARLOW
BARNARD
BARNES
BARNET(T)
BARNEY
BARNUM
BARR
BARRELL
BARRETT
BARRINGER
BAR(R)ON
BARROW(S)
BARRY
BARTHOLOMEW
BARTLETT
BARTON
BARTOW
BASHORE
BASS(E)
BASSET(T)
BA(T)CHELDER
BA(T)CHELLER
BA(T)CHELOR
BATEMAN
BATES
BATSON
BATTEN
BATTLE(S)
BATT(S)
BAUER
BAUGH
BAUGHMAN
BAUM
BAUMAN(N)
BAXTER
BAYLES(S)
BAYLEY
BAYLIS(S)
BAYLOR
BAYNE(S)
BEACH
BEACHAM
BEA(A)HM
BEALE
BEAL(L)
BEAM
BEA(A)MAN
BEAN(E)
BEAR
BEARD
BEARDSLEY
BEASLEY
BEASON
BEATON
BEATTIE
BEATTY
BEAUCHAMP
BEAUMONT
BEAVER(S)
BECK
BECKER
BECKET(T)
BECKFORD
BECKHAM
BECKLEY
BECKMAN(N)
BECKWITH
BEDELL
BEDFORD
BEEBE
BEECH
BEECHER
BEEKMAN(N)
BEEM
BEEMAN
BEER(S)
BEESLEY
BEESON
BEGG
BEICHER
BELDEN
BELDING
BEL(K)NAP
BELL
BELLAMY
BELLINGER
BELLOWS
BELT
BEMIS
BENEDICT
BENHAM
BENJAMIN
BENN
BENNER
BENNETT
BENSEN
BENSON
BENT
BENTLEY
BENTON
BEN(T)Z
BERGEN
BERGIN
BERINGER
BERK(E)LEY
BERNARD
BERRY
BERRYMAN
BERTRAM
BERTRAND
BEST
BETHUNE
BETTS
BEVAN(S)
BEVERL(E)Y
BEYER
BIBB
BICKEL
BICKFORD
BICKLEY
BICKNELL
BIDDLE
BIDWELL
BIGELOW
BIGGER(S)
BIGG(S)
BILLINGS
BILLINGSLEY
BILLINGTON
BILL(S)
BILLUPS
BINGHAM
BINNS
BIRCH
BIRD
BIRDSALL
BIRDSELL
BISBEE
BISHOP
BISSELL
BIXBY
BLACK
BLACKBURN(E)
BLACKMAN
BLACKMORE
BLACKSTONE
BLACKWELL
BLACKWOOD
BLADE(S)
BLAIN(E)
BLAIR
BLAKE
BLAK(E)L(E)Y
BLAKEMAN
BLAKEMORE
BLAKESLEE
BLAKESLEY
BLAKEY
BLANCHARD
BLANCK
BLAND
BLANEY
BLANKENSHIP
BLANK(S)
BLANTON
BLEDSOE
BLENKINSOP
BLEW
BLIGH
BLINN
BLISS
BLODGETT
BLOOD
BLOSSOM
BLO(O)NT
BLUE
BLY(E)
BLYTH(E)
BOARDMAN
BOA(R)MAN
BODELL
BODLE
BO(E)HM
BOGARDUS
BOGART
BOGERT
BOGGS
BOGUE
BOLAND
BOLDEN
BOLLING
BOLTON
BOND
BONHAM
BONNELL
BONNER
BON(N)EY
BOOKER
BOON(E)
BORDEN
BORN(E)
BOSS(E)
BOSTON
BOSTWICK
BOSWELL
BOSWORTH
BOTT(S)
BOUCHER
BOUG(H)TON
BOULDIN
BOURN(E)
BOWEN
BOWER(S)
BOWE(S)
BOWIE
BOWKER
BOWLBY
BOWLER
BOWLES
BOWLING
BOWMAN
BOWSER
BOW(Y)ER
BOYCE
BOYD
BOYDEN
BOYES
BOYINGTON
BOYLE(S)
BOYNTON
BRAC(E)(Y)
BRACKEN
BRACKETT
BRADBURN
BRADBURY
BRADFORD
BRADLEY
BRADSHAW
BRADY
BRAGDON
BRAGG
BRAHAM
BRAINARD
BRAINERD
BRAME
BRANCH
BRAND
BRAND(I)T
BRANHALL
BRANNAN
BRANNON
BRANSON
BRASHEAR(S)
BRATTON
BRAY
BRAZIER
BRECKENRIDGE
BRECKINRIDGE
BREECE
BREED
BREEN
BREESE
BREEZE
BRENNAN
BRENT
BRENTON
BRETT
BREWER
BREWSTER
BRIAN
BRICE
BRIDGE
BRIDG(E)MAN
BRIDGES
BRIER
BRIGGS
BRIGHAM
BRIGHT
BRIN(C)KERHOFF
BRINK
BRINTON
BRISCOE
BRISTOL
BRITT
BRITTAIN
BRITTEN
BRITTON
BROCK
BROCKETT
BRODIE
BRODY
BROMFIELD
BROMLY
BRONSON
BROOKE
BROOKS
BROUGH
BROUGHTON
BROU)WER
BROWN(E)
BROWNELL
BROWNING
BROWNLEE
BROWNLEY
BROWNSON
BROYLES
BRUCE
BRUEN
BRUMBAUGH
BRUN(N)ER
BRUNSON
BRUSH
BRYAN
BRYANT
BRYCE
BRYER
BUCHANAN
BUCHER
BUCK
BUCKINGHAM
BUCKLAND
BUCKLEY
BUCKMAN
BUCKRAM
BUCKNER
BUDD(E)
BUEL(L)
BUFFINGTON
BUFORD
BULK(E)LEY
BULL
BULLARD
BULLEN
BULLOCH
BULLOCK
BULMAN
BUNCE
BUNDE
BUNDY
BUNKER
BUNN
BUNNELL
BUNTIN
BUNTON
BURBANK
BURCH
BURCHARD
BURDETT(E)
BURFORD
BURGER
BURGESS
BURGOYNE
BURK(E)
BURLEIGH
BURLEY
BURLINGAME
BURNETT
BURNHAM
BURNS
BURR
BURRALL
BURRILL
BURRITT
BURROUGHS
BURROWS
BURT-BURTON
BURWELL
BUSBY
BUSH
BUSHNELL
BUSS(E)(Y)
BUTCHER
BUTLER
BUTTERFIELD
BUTTER(S)
BUTTERWORTH
BUTTON
BUTTRICK
BUTT(S)
BUTZ
BUXTON
BYER(S)
BYRAM
BYRD
BYRNE
BYRON
BYRUM
CABELL
CABLE
CADE
CADY
CAHILL
CAINE)
CALDWELL
CALHOUN
CALL
CALLAHAN
CALLAWAY
CALLENDER
CALLOWAY
CALVERT
CAMERON
CAMPBELL
CAMP(E)
CANFIELD
CANNON
CANTRELL
CAPEN
CAPP(S)
CARDWELL
CAR(E)Y
CARGILL
CARHART
CARL(E)
CARL(E)TON
CARLISLE
CARLL
CARLYLE
CARMAN
CARMICHAEL
CARNES
CARNEY
CAROTHERS
CARPENTER
CARR
CARRIER
CARRINGTON
CARROLL
CARRUTHERS
CARSON
CARTER
CARTWRIGHT
CARUTHERS
CARVER
CASE
CASEY
CASKEY
CASKIE
CASS
CASSADY
CASSEL(L)
CASSIDY
CASTLE
CASWELL
CATE(S)
CATLETT
CATLIN
CAULEY
CAVANA(U)GH
CAVE
CAWLEY
CECIL
CHADWICK
CHAFFEE
CHALMERS
CHAMBER(LA)IN
CHAMBERS
CHAMPION
CHAMPL(A)IN
CHAMBERS
CHAMPION
CHAMPL(A)IN
CHANCE
CHANDLER
CHANEY
CHAPIN
CHAPLIN
CHAPMAN
CHAPPELL
CHARLES
CHARLTON
CHASE
CHATFIELD
CHEATHAM
CHEEK
CHEEVER(S)
CHENEY
CHENOWETH
CHERRY
CHESLEY
CHESTER
CHEVALIER
CHEW
CHICHESTER
CHICK
CHILDERS
CHILDRESS
CHILD(S)
CHILES
CHILTON
CHINN
CHIPMAN
CHISHOLM
CHITTENDEN
CHOATE
CHRIST
CHRISTIAN
CHRISTIE
CHRIS(T)MAN(N)
CHRISTMAS
CHRISTOPHER
CHRISTY
CHURCH
CHURCHILL
CHUTE
CLAFLIN
CLAIBORNE
CLAPP
CLARE
CLARK(E)
CLARKSON
CLAUSON
CLAUS(S)EN
CLAWSON
CLAY
CLAYBORN(E)
CLAYBURN
CLAYPOOL(E)
CLAYTON
CLAYSON
CLE(A)VELAND
CLEAVER
CLEAVES)
CLEMENT(S)
CLEM(M)ONS
CLIFF
CLIFFORD
CLIFT
CLIFTON
CLINE
CLINTON
CLOSE
CLOUGH
CO(A)LE
COAN
COAT(E)S
COBB
COCHRAN(E)
COCKRELL
CODDINGTON
CODY
COE
COEN
COFFEE
COFFEY
COFFIN
COGAN
COGGESHALL
COGGIN(S)
COGSWELL
COKER
COL(U)RN
COLBY
COLDWELL
COLE)MAN
COLEY
COLLIER
COLLINS
COLS(T)ON
COLT
COLTON
COLVER
COLVIN
COLWELL
COMER
COMPTON
COMSTOCK
CONANT
CONDIT
CONE
CONEY
CONKLIN(G)
CONLEY
CONN
CONNELL
CONNELLY
CONNER
CONOVER
CONRAD
CONSTANTINE
CONTEE
CONWAY
CONYERS
COOK(E)
COOKSEY
COOLEY
COOLIDGE
COO)MBS
COON(S)
COOPER
COPE
COPELAND
COPLEY
CORBETT
CORBIN
CORDELL
CORDES
COR(E)Y
CORLEY
CORNELIUS
CORNELL
CORNISH
CORNWALL
CORNWELL
CORSON
CORWIN
COSBY
COSGROVE
COSTER
COTE
COTTER
COTTON
COTTRELL
COUCH
COULTER
COUNCIL
COURTNEY
COUSINS
COVELL
COVERT
COWAN
COWDEN
COWELL
COWEN
COWIN
COW)LES
COWLEY
COX(E)
COY
CRABB(E)
CRABTREE
CRADDOCK
CRAFT
CRAIG
CRAIN
CRAMER
CRANE
CRANMER
CRAVEN
CRAWFORD
CRAWLEY
CREEL
CREIGHTON
CRENSHAW
CRES(S)WELL
CREW(S)
CRICHTON
CRIPPEN
CRIST
CRISWELL
CRITTENDEN
CROCKER
CROCKETT
CROFT
CROMER
CROMWELL
CROO(K)S
CROSBY
CROSIER
CROSS
CROS(S)MAN
CROUCH
CROWDER
CROW(E)
CROWELL
CROWLEY
CROWTHER
CROXTON
CROZIER
CRUMP
CRUTCHER
CULBERTSON
CULLEN
CULP
CULVER
CUMMIN(G)S
CUNNINGHAM
CURL(E)(S)
CURRIE
CURRIER
CURRY
CURTIN
CURTIS
CUSHING
CUSHMAN
CUTHBERT
CUTLER
CUTTER
CUTTING
DABNEY
DAGGETT
DAIL(E)Y
DALE
DAL(E)Y
DALRYMPLE
DALTON
DAM(E)RON
DAMON
DANA
DANE
DANFORD
DANFORTH
DANIEL(S)
DAN(N)
DARBY
DARLING
DARLINGTON
DARNALL
DARNELL
DARRA(G)H
DARROW
DART
DAUGHERTY
DAVENPORT
DAV(E)Y
DAVID(S)
DAVIDSON
DAVIE
DAVI(E)S
DAWE(S)
DAWSON
DAY
DAYTON
DEAL
DEAN(E)
DEARBORN
DEARING
DECKER(T)
DEE
DE(E)RING
DEFOREST
DEGRAFF
DEHAVEN
DEKKER
DELAFIELD
DELAN(E)Y
DELANO
DELL
DELONG
DEMING
DEMPSEY
DENHAM
DENMAN
DENNETT
DENN(E)Y
DENNING
DENNIS
DEN(N)ISON
DENT
DENTON
DEPEW
DEPUE
DERBY
DEVEAUX
DEVERE(A)UX
DEVOE
DEW
DEWEY
DEWITT
DEWOLF(E)
DEXTER
DIBBLE
DICK(E)
DICKENS
DICKERMAN
DICKERSON
DICKEY
DICKINS
DICKINSON
DICKMAN
DICKSON
DIEHL
DIETRICH
DIGG(E)S
DIKE
DIKEMAN
DILL
DILLARD
DILLER
DILLINGHAM
DILLON
DIM(M)ICK
DIM(M)OCK
DINSMORE
DISBROW
DIX
DIXON
DOAN(E)
DOBBS
DODD(S)
DODGE
DODSON
DOE
DOGGETT
DOHERTY
DOLE
DONAHOE
DONAHUE
DONALD
DONALDSON
DONELSON
DONNELL
DONNELLY
DONOHOE
DONOHUE
DONOVAN
DOO)LAN
DOOLITTLE
DORE
DOREMUS
DORMAN
DORR
DORSET(T)
DOTSON
DOTY
DOUD
DOUGHERTY
DOUGHTY
DOUGLAS(S)
DOUTHIT(T)
DOVE
DOW
DOWD
DOWELL
DOWLING
DOWNER
DOWN(E)S
DOWNING
DOYLE
DRAKE
DRAPER
DRESSER
DREW
DREWRY
DRINKWATER
DRIVER
DRUMMOND
DRURY
DRYDEN
DUBOIS
DUCKWORTH
DUDLEY
DUFF
DUFFIELD
DUFFY
DUG(G)AN
DUKE(S)
DULAN(E)Y
DUMAS
DUMONT
DUNBAR
DUNCAN
DUNHAM
DUNLAP
DUNLOP
DUNN(E)
DUNNING
DUPRE(E)
DURAND
DURANT
DURFEE
DURHAM
DURKIN
DUSTIN
DUTTON
DUVAL(L)
DWIGHT
DWYER
DYCKMAN
DYE
DYER
DYK(E)MAN
DYKES)
DYRE
EADE)S
EAGER
EAMERS
EARL(E)
EARL(E)Y
EAST
EASTMAN
EASTON
EASTWOOD
EATON
EBERHAR(D)T
EBY
ECCLES
ECHOLS
ECKLES
EDDY
EDEN
EDES
EDGAR
E)DGERTON
EDMONDS
EDMON(D)SON
EDMONSTON
EDMUNDS
EDSON
EDWARDS
EGGLESTON
ELDER
ELDRED(GE)
ELDRIDGE
ELIOT
ELKIN(S)
ELLERY
ELLINGTON
ELLIOT(T)
ELLIS
ELLISON
ELLSWORTH
EL(L)WOOD
ELMER
ELM(E)S
ELMORE
ELWELL
ELY
EMBREE
EMBR(E)Y
EMERSON
EMERY
EMHL
EMMONS
ENDICOTT
ENGEL
ENGLAND
ENGLE
ENGLISH
ENNIS
END(S)
ENSIGN
EPPS
ERSKINE
ERWIN
ESTABROOK(S)
ESTES
ETHERIDGE
EUBANK
EUSTACE
EUSTIS
EVANS
EVERARD
EVERETT
EWERHART
EVERITT
EWER(S)
EWING
FAIR
FAIRBANK(S)
FAIRCHILD
FAIRFAX
FAIRFIELD
FAI)RLEY
FALCONER
FALES
FANCHER
FANNING
FARMER
FARN(H)AM
FARNSWORTH
FARNUM
FARQUHAR
FARR
FARRAR
FARR)AR(D)T
FARRELL
FARRINGTON
FARIS
FARWELL
FAULKNER
FAUNCE
FAUNTLEROY
FAWCETT
FAY
FE(A)RN(E)
FE(A)THERSTONE
FELL
FELLOWS
FELT
FELTON
FENN
FENNER
FENTON
FENWICK
FERGUSON
FERNALD
FERRELL
FERRIS
FESSENDEN
FIELDING
FIELD(S)
FIFE
FINCH
FIN(D)LAY
FIN(D)LEY
FINNEY
FISH
FISHER
FISK(E)
FITCH
FITTS
FITZ
FITZGERALD
FITZHUGH
FITZPATRICK
FLAGG
FLANAGAN
FLANDERS
FLANIGAN
FLE(U)RSCHER
FLEM(M)ING
FLETCHER
FLINN
FLINT
FLOOD
FLORY
FLOURNOY
FLOWER(S)
FLOYD
FLYNN
FOLEY
FOLGER
FOLK(S)
FOLLET(T)
FOLSOM
FONES
FONTAINE
FOOTE
FORBES
FORCE
FORD
FOR(E)MAN
FORREST
FORRESTER
FORSYTH(E)
FORT(E)
FOSS
FOULK(E)(S)
FOUNTAIN
FOWLER
FOW(L)KES
FOX
FOY
FRAME
FRANCE
FRANCIS
FRANK(E)
FRANKLIN
FRAN(T)Z
FRASER
FRAZEE
FRAZ(I)ER
FREAR
FRED(E)RICK
FREELAND
FREEMAN
FREER
FREES(E)
FRENCH
FREY
FRIEND
FRIES(E)
FRISBIE
FRISBY
FROST
FRY(E)
FRYER
FULCHER
FULLER
FULLERTON
FULTON
FUN(C)K(E)
FUNK(E)
FURMAN
FYFE
GAGE
GAILLARD
GAINES
GALBRAITH
GALBREATH
GALE
GALLA(G)HER
GALL(E)
GALLOP
GALLOWAY
GALLUP
GAMBLE
GARARD
GARBER
GARD(I)NER
GARFIELD
GARLAND
GARNER
GARNET(T)
GARRETT
GARRISON
GARTH
GARVEY
GARVIN
GARY
GASKINS
GASTON
GATES
GA(U)LT
GAY
GAYLORD
GEAR
GEARY
GEDNEY
GEE
GEER
GENTRY
GEORGE
GERARD
GERBER
GERHAR(D)T
GERMAN
GERRY
GIBBON(S)
GIBBS
GIBSON
GIDDINGS
GIFFORD
GILBERT
GILCHRIST
GILE(S)
GILL
GILLESPIE
GILLETT(E)
GILL(I)AM
GILLI(E)S
GIL(L)MAN
GILMER
GILMORE
GILMOUR
GILPIN
GILSON
GIRARD
GIVEN
GLADDEN
GLAD(D)ING
GLASCOTT
GLASGOW
GLASS
GLAS(S)COCK
GLEASON
GLEESON
GLEN(N)
GLIDDEN
GLOVER
GLYNN
GOBLE
GODDARD
GODFREY
GOFF(E)
GOLDING
GOLDSBOROUGH
GOLDSMITH
GOOCH
GOODALL
GOOD(E)
GOODELL
GOODENOUGH
GOOD(E)NOW
GOODIN(G)
GOODMAN
GOODRICH
GOODRIDGE
GO(O)DWIN
GOODYEAR
GORDON
GORE
GORHAM
GORTON
GOSS(E)
GOUGH
GO(U)LD
GOULDING
GOVER
GOWER
GRACE
GRAHAM
GRANGER
GRANT
GRATTAN
GRAVES
GRAY
GRAYSON
GREAR
GREEL(E)Y
GREEN(E)
GREENHALGH
GREENLEAF
GREENLEE
GREENOUGH
GREENWELL
GREENWOOD
GREER
GREGG
GREGORY
GRESHAM
GREY
GRID(LE)Y
GRIER
GRIFFEN
GRIFFITH
GRIGG(S)
GRIGSBY
GRIMES
GRINDLE
GRINNELL
GRISWOLD
GROS(S)E
GROSVENOR
GROTE
GROUT
GROVE
GROVER
GROVES
GROW
GRU(B)E
GRUBB(S)
GRYMES
GU(E)NT(H)ER
GUEST
GUILD
GUILE
GUION
GULICK
GUNN
GUNNELL
GURLEY
GURNEY
GUTHRIE
GUY
GUYON
GWINN
GWYNN
GYLES
HACKER
HACKETT
HADDEN
HADDOCK
HADLEY
HAE)GER
HAF(F)NER
HAGAN
HAGEMAN(N)
HAGEN
HAGERMAN(N)
HAGGARD
HAGUE
HAHN
HAIG(H)
HAINES
HAIR(E)
HAIRSTON
HALE
HALL
HALLAM
HALLECK
HALLENBECK
HALLET(T)
HALLEY
HALLIDAY
HALLOCK
HALLOWELL
HALSEY
HALST(E)A)D
HAMER
HAMILL
HAMILTON
HAMLIN
HAM(M)
HAM(M)EL
HAMMETT
HAMMOND
HAMPTON
HANCE
HANCOCK
HAND
HAND)LEY
HANDY
HANEY
HANK(E)(S)
HANK(I)N(S)
HANMER
HANMORE
HANN
HANNA(H)
HANNAY
HANSEN
HANSON
HARBAUGH
HARDEN
HARDIE
HARD(I)MAN
HARDIN
HARDING
HARDWICK(E)
HARDY
HARE
HARGR(E)AVE(S)
HARING
HARKNESS
HARLAN
HARLEY
HARLOW
HARMAN
HARMER
HARMON
HARPER
HARRIMAN
HARRINGTON
HARRIS
HARRISON
HAR(R)OLD
HARRY
HART
HARTLEY
HARTSHORN(E)
HARTWELL
HARVEY
HARWOOD
HASBROUCK
HASKELL
HASKIN(S)
HASSARD
HASTINGS
HATCH
HATCHER
HATCHETT
HATFIELD
HATHAWAY
HATTON
HAUS(E)MAN(N)
HAUSER
HAVILAND
HAWES
HAWK(E)(S)
HAWKINS
HAWLEY
HAWORTH
HAWTHORNE
HAY
HAYDEN
HAY(E)S
HAYMAN
HAYNES
HAYWARD
HAYWOOD
HAZEN
HAZ(Z)ARD
HEAD

HEADLEY
HEALD
HE(A)AL(E)Y
HEARD
HEARN(E)
HEATH
HEATON
HEBB
HEBERT
HEDGE(S)
HEDRICK
HEF(F)INER
HEGEMAN
HELLER
HELM
HENDERSON

HEN(D)LEY
HENDRICK(S)
HENDRIX
HENKEL
HENKLE
HENNING
HENRY
HENSLEY
HEPBURN
HERBERT
HERMAN
HERNDON
HERRICK
HER(R)ING
HERRINGTON
HER(R)ON
HERSEY
HESS(E)
HEWES
HEWETT
HEWITT
HEWLETT
HEYMAN
HEYWOOD
HIATT
HIBBARD
HIBBERT
HICKEY
HICKMAN
HICKOK
HICKS
HIGDON
HIGGINBOTHAM
HIGGINS
HIGHLAND
HIGHT
HIGLEY
HILDRETH
HILLIARD
HILLIER
HILLMAN
HILL(S)
HILLYER
HILTON
HIN(C)KLEY
HIND(S)
HINE(S)
HINKLE
HINMAN
HINTON
HITCH
HITCHCOCK
HITE
HOAG
HOAGLAND
HOAR(E)
HOBART
HOBBS
HOBSON
HOCH
HODGE(S)
HODGKINS
HODGSON
HOFF
HOF(F)MAN(N)
HOGAN
HOGG
HOGU(E
HOIT
HOLBROOK
HOLCOMB(E)
HOLDEN
HOLDER
HOLLAND
HOLLENBECK
HOLL(E)Y
HOLLIDAY
HOLLINGSHEAD
HOLLINGSWORTH
HOLLIS
HOLLISTER
HOLLOWAY
HOLLOWELL
HOLMAN
HOLMES
HOLT
HOLTON
HOLYOKE
HOMER
HOOD
HOOK
HOOKER
HOOPER
HOOVER
HOPE
HOPKINS
HOPPER
HOPSON
HORN(E)
HORNER
HORS(L)EY
HORTON
HOSKIN(S)
HOSMER
HOTCHKISS
HOUGH
HOUGHTON
HOUSE
HOUSEMANN
HOUSER
HO(U)STON
HOWARD
HOW(E)
HOWELL
HOWES
HOWLAND
HOWLETT
HOY(E)
HOYT
HUBBARD
HUBBELL
HUBER
HUBERT
HUCK
HUDDLESTON
HUDGINS
HUDSON
HUFF
HUGGINS
HUGHES
HULL
HUME(S)
HUMPHREY(S)
HUMPHRIES
HUNDLEY
HUNGERFORD
HUNT
HUNTER
HUNTINGTON
HUNTLEY
HURD
HU(R)LBU(R)T
HURLEY
HURST
HUSBAND(S)
HUSSEY
HUTCHE(R)SON
HUTCHIN(G)S
HUTCHI(N)SON
HUTTER
HUTTON
HYATT
HYDE
HYETT
HYLAND
IDE

INGALL(S)
INGE
INGERSOLL
INGHAM
INGLIS
INGRA(HA)M
INNES
INNIS
IRBY
IRELAND
IRISH
IRVIN(E)
IRVING
IRWIN
ISAAC(S)
ISBELL
ISHAM
IVES
IV(E)Y
IVINS
JACKMAN
JACK(S)
JACKSON
JACOB(S)
JACQUES
JAEGER
JAMES
JAM(I)E)SON
JANES
JANSON
JANS(S)EN
JAQUES
JARMAN
JARRETT
JARVIS
JAY(E)
JEFF(E)RIES
JEFFERSON
JEFFERY(S)
JEFFREY(S)
JEN(C)K(E)S
JENKIN(S)
JENN(E)Y
JENNINGS
JERMAN
JESSUP
JETT
JEWELL
JEWETT
JOE(
JOHN(S)
JOHNSON
JOHNSTON(E)
JOINER
JOLLEY
JOLLIFFE
JONES
JORDAN
JORDON
JOSLIN
JOSLYN
JOY
JOYCE
JOYNER
JUDD
JUDKINS
JUDSON
JUDY
JULIAN
JULIEN
JUSTICE
KAU)N(E)
KAISER
KATE
KATES
KAVANA(U)GH
KAY(E)
KEANE
KEARNEY
KEARNS
KEATING
KEATON
KEELER
KEEL(E)Y
KEELING
KEENAN
KEEN(E)
KEENEY
KEEP
KEHOE
KEIL
KEISER
KEITH
KELLAR
KELLER
KELL(E)Y
KELLOGG
KELSEY
KELSO
KEMP(E)
KEMPER
KENAN
KENDALL
KENDRICK
KENNARD
KENNEDY
KENN(E)Y
KENNON
KENT
KENYON
KEO(U)GH
KERBY
KERN
KERNS
KERR
KERSHAW
KERWIN
KETCHAM
KETCHUM
KEY(E)
KEY(E)S
KEYSER
KIDD
KIDDER
KILBO(U)RN(E)
KILBURN
KILGORE
KILHAM
KILLAM
KILMER
KILPATRICK
KIMBALL
KIMBERLY
KIMBLE
KINCADE
KINCAID
KINCHELOE
KINDER
KING
KINGMAN
KINGSBURY
KINGSLEY
KINGSTON
KINKADE
KINKAID
KINKEAD
KINNEY
KINSELLA
KINSLEY
KIPP
KIRBY
KIRK
KIRKHAM
KIRKLAND
KIRKPATRICK
KIRKWOOD
KIRWAN
KISER
KITCHEN
KITCHIN
KITTLE
KITTREDGE
KLINE
KNAPP
KNICKERBOCKER
KNIGHT
KNIGHTON
KNOTT(S)
KNOWLES
KNOWLTON
KNOX
KOLB
KRAMER

KRAUSE
KRAUS(S)
KUHN(S)
KULP
KUNKEL
KUR(T)Z
KYLE
LAC(E)Y
LADD
LAFFERTY
LAFORGE
LAIRD
LAKE
LAMB
LAMBERT
LAMONT
LAM(P)KIN
LAMSON
LANCASTER
LANCE
LAND(E)
LANDER(S)
LANDES
LANDIS
LANDON
LANE
LANG
LANGDON
LANGFORD
LANGHAM
LANGLEY
LANGSTON
LANGTRY
LYONS
LANHAM
LANIER
LAN(N)ING
LANTZ
LAPHAM
LAPORTE
LARKIN(S)
LARNED
LARUE
LASHER
LATHAM
LATHROP
LATIMER
LAUDER
LAUER
LAUGHTON
LAVENDER
LAWLER
LAWLOR
LAWRENCE
LAW(S)
LAWSON
LAWTON
LAWYER
LAY
LAYMAN
LAYTON
LEA
LEACH
LEADBETTER
LEAR
LEARNED
LEARY
LEATHERMAN
LEATHERS
LEAVER
LEAVITT
LECOM(P)TE
LECONTE
LEDBETTER
LEE
LEECH
LEEDS
LEEMAN
LEEPER
LEESON
LEFE(B)YRE
LEFEVOUR
LEFTWICH
LEGG(E)
LEGGETT
LEHMAN(N)
LEIGH
LEIGHTON
LEITH
LEITNER
LELAND
LEMAN
LEMLEY
LEMMON
LEMON
LENARD
LENNON
LEN(N)OX
LENT
LEN(T)Z
LENZ
LEONARD
LEROUX
LEROY
LESLEY
LESLIE
LESTER
LEVER
LEVIS
LEVITT
LEWIS
LEY
LIDDELL
LIDDLE
LIGGETT
LIGHT
LIGHTFOOT
LIGHTNER
LILLE(Y
LILLIE
LINCK
LINCOLN
LIND(E)
LINDLEY
LINDSAY
LINDSEY
LINE
LING
LINK(E)
LINN(E)
LINTON
LIPPINCOTT
LIPPITT
LISLE
LISTER
LITCHFIELD
LITTELL
LITTLE

LITTLEFIELD
LITTLETON
LIVINGSTON
LLEWELLYN
LLOYD
LOCK(E)
LOCKETT
LOCKHART
LOCKWOOD
LODGE
LOGAN
LOHMAN(N)
LOMAS
LOMAX
LOMBARD
LONDON
LONG
LONGLEY
LOOMIS
LOONEY
LORD
LOTHROP
LOTT
LOUDEN
LOUDON
LOUNSBURY
LOVE
LOVEJOY
LOVELACE
LOVELL
LOVETT
LOVING
LOWDEN
LOW(E)
LOWELL
LOWERY

LOWR(E)Y
LOWTHER
LOYD
LUCAS
LUCE
LUCKETT
LUCK(E)Y
LUCY
LUDDEN
LUDLAM
LUDLOW
LUDLUM
LUDWIG
LUKE
LUKEN(S)
LUM(B)
LUMLEY
LUMPKIN
LUND
LUNDY
LUNSFORD
LUNT
LUSK
LUTHER
LUTZ
LYFORD
LYLE(S)
LYMAN
LYNCH
LYND(E)
LYNE
LYNN(E)
LYON
LYONS
MAAS
MABEE
MABIE
MABR(E)Y
M(A)CARTHUR
MACAULAY
M(A)CCLINTOCK
M(A)CCORKLE
M(A)CDONALD
M(A)DOUGAL(L)
M(A)CFADDEN
M(A)CFARLAND
M(A)CFARLANE
M(A)CGREGOR

MAC(I)E
MACK
M(A)CKAY
M(A)CKENZIE
M(A)CKINNON
M(A)CLAREN
M(A)CLAUGHLIN
M(A)CLEAN
M(A)CLEOD
M(A)CMAHON
M(A)CMANUS
M(A)CMILLAN
M(A)CMULLEN
M(A)CMURRAY
M(A)CNAB(B)
M(A)CNAMARA
MACON
MACPHERSON
M(A)CRAE
M(A)CVEIGH
MADDEN
MADDOCK
MADDOX
MADDUX
MADER

MADISON
MAGEE
MAGILL
MAGOON
MAGRUDER
MAGUIRE
MAGY
MAHER
MAHON
MAHON(E)Y
MAIN
MAITLAND
MAJOR
MALCOLM
MALLET(T)E
MALLORY
MALL(O)Y
MALONE(Y)
MANCHESTER
MANDEVILLE
MANEY
MANL(E)Y
MANN
MANNING
MANSELL
MANSFIELD
MANSON
MAPES
MAPLE(S)
MAR(A)BLE
MARBURY
MARCH
MARCHANT
MARCY
MARDEN
MARION
MARKEY
MARKHAM
MARKLEY
MARK(S)
MARLEY
MARR
MARRIOTT
MARSH
MARSHALL
MARSTON
MARTIN
MARVEL
MARVIN
MASON
MASSEY
MASSIE
MASTER(S)
MASTERSON
MATHER
MATHE(W)SON
MATT(I)TE)SON
MAT(T)HEW(S)
MATTOCKS
MATTOX
MAUPIN
MAXCY
MAXEY
MACFIELD
MAX(S)ON
MAXWELL
MAY
MAYBERRY
MAYER
MAY(E)S
MAYHEW
MAYNARD
MAYO
MCADAM(S)
MCAFEE
MCALLISTER
MCALPIN(E)

MCAVOY
MCBRIDE
MCCABE
MCCALL
MCCALLUM
MCCART(H)Y
MCCLAIN
MCCLELLAN(D)
MCCLINTIC
MCCLOUD
MCCLUNG
MCCLURE
MCCOLLUM
MCCORD
MCCORMACK
MCCORMICK
MCCOY
MCCRARY
MCCRAY
MCCREA
MCCREADY
MCCREARY
MCCREERY

MCCRORY
MCCUE
MCCUEN
MCCULLOUCH
MCCULLOUGH
MCCUNE
MCCURDY
MCCUTCHEON
MCDANIEL(S)
MCDERMOTT
MCDONOUGH
MCDOWELL
MCELROY
MCEVOY
MCEWAN
MCEWEN

MCGEE

MCG(E)HEE
MCGHIE
MCGILL
MCGINNIS
MCGOWAN
MCGOWEN
MCGRATH
MCGRAW
MCGREW
MCGRUDER
MCGUIRE
MCHENRY
MCHUGH
MCILVAIN(E)
MCINTIRE
MCINTOSH
MCINTYRE
MCKAN
MCKEE

MCKEEN
MCKENNA
MCKIM
MCKINLAY
MCKINLEY
MCKINNEY
MCKINNON
MCKINSTRY
MCLAIN
MCLANE
MCLELLAN
MCMASTER(S)
MCNAIR
MCNALLY
MCNAUGHTON
MCNEAL
MCNEIL(L)
MCNULTY
MCNUTT
MCQUEEN
MCSWEENEY
MCVAY
MCVEY
MCVICKAR
MCVICKER
MEACHAM
MEAD(E)
MEADOW(S)

MEANS
MEARS
MEEKER
MEER(S)
MEERS
MEIGS
MELCHER
MELCHIOR
MELLEN
MELLER
MELIN
MELLON
MELLOR
MELTON
MELVILLE
MELVIN
MENDENHALL
MERCIER
MEREDITH
MER(R)IAM
MERRICK
MERRILL
MERRIMAN
MERRITT
MERRY
MESSENGER
MESSER
MESSINGER
METCALF(E)
MEYER(S)
MICHAEL
MICKLE
MIDDLETON
MILES
MILLAR
MILLARD
MILLER

MILLET(T)
MILLIGAN
MILLIKEN
MILLS
MILNER
MILTON
MINER
MINOR
MINTER
MITCHEL(L)
MITTEN
MITTON
MINER
MINOR
MINTER
MITCHEL(L)
MITTEN
MITTON
PAGE
MOBERLE)Y
MOBLEY
MOCK
MOFFAT(T)
MOFFETT
MOFFITT
MOHR
MOHUN

MOLLOY
MOLONEY
MOLYNE(A)UX
MONCK
MONROE
MONSON
MONTAGUE
MONTEITH
MONTGOMERY
MOODY
MOON(E)
MOONEY
MOO)RE
MOO)RE)HOUSE
MOORHEAD
MOO)RMAN
MOREY
MORGAN
MORIAR(I)TY
MORLEY
MORRELL
MORRILL
MORRIS
MORRISON
MORROW
MORSE
MORTIMER
MORTON
MOS(E)LEY
MOSES
MOSHER
MOS(I)ER
MOSS(E)
MOTHERSHEAD
MOTLEY
MOTT
MOULTON
MOWER
MOWRY
MOYER
MUE)LLER
MUIR
MULFORD
MULLEN
MULLIGAN
MULLIN(S)

MULLOY
MUMFORD
MUND(A)Y
MUNK
MUNN
MUNRO(E)
MUNSELL
MUNSON
MURCHISON
MURDOCH
MURDOCK
MURPHY
MURRAY
MUSE
MUSSELMAN
MYER(S)

MYLES
NAGEL
NAGLE
NANCE
NAPIER
NASH
NASON
NAYLOR
NEAL(E)
NEAL(L)E)Y
NEEDHAM
NEFF
NEIL(L)
NEILSON
NESBIT
NETTLETON
NEUMAN
NEVILLE
NEVINS
NEVIUS
NEWBERRY
NEWBY
NEWCOMB
NEWELL
NEWHALL
NEWKIRK
NEWLAND
NEWLIN
NEWMAN
NEWTON
NICHOLAS
NICHOLLS
NICHOLSON
NICKERSON
NIGHTINGALE
NILES
NISBET
NIXON
NOBLE
NOEL
NOLAN
NORMAN
NORRIS
NORTH
NORTHROP
NORTHRUP
NORTON
NORWOOD

NOTT
NOTTINGHAM
NOWELL
NOYES
NUGENT
NUN(N)
NUTT
NYE
O'BRIAN
O'BRYAN
O'CONNOR
O'HAIR
O'HARA
O'HARE
O'LEARY
O'NEAL
O'NEIL(L)
O'ROURKE
O'SULLIVAN
OAK(E)S
OAKLEY
OATES
ODELL
OGDEN
OGILVIE
OGLE
OGLESBY
OLCOTT
OLDHAM
OLDS
OLIVER

OLMSTE(A)D
OLNEY
ORCHARD
ORDWAY
ORME(S)
ORMSBY
ORR
ORT(H)
ORTON
OSBORN(E)
OSGOOD
OSMAN
OSWALD
OTIS
OTT
OVERTON
OWEN(S)

PACE
PACK
PACKARD
PACKER
PADDOCK
PADGETT
PAGE
PAIGE
PAINE)
PAINTER
PALMER
PANNELL
PARDEE
PARKER
PARHAM
PARKER
PARK(ERS)
PARKHURST
PARKINSON
PARKMAN
PARMELEE
PARNELL
PARR
PAR(R)IS
PAR(R)ISH
PARROTT
PARRY
PARSONS
PARTRIDGE
PASC(H)AL
PATE
PATRICK
PATTEN
PAT(T)ERSON
PAT(T)ON
PAUL
PAUL(E)Y
PAULI
PAXSON
PAYNE
PAYNTER
PAYTON
PEABODY
PEACOCK
PEAK(E)
PEAL
PEARCE
PEARL
PEARSE
PEARSON
PEASE
PEAT
PECK
PECKHAM
PEEBLES
PEEK
PEEL
PEET
PEIRCE
PELHAM
PEMBERTON

PENCE
PENDLETON
PENICK
PENN
PENNELL
PENN(E)Y
PENNINGTON
PENNOCK
PENROSE
PENTZ
PEP(P)ER
PERCIVAL
PERCY
PERDUE
PERKINS
PERRIN(E)
PERRY
PERSON(S)
PETER(S)
PETERSEN
PETERSON
PETTIS
PET(T)IT
PETTUS
PETTY
PEYTON
PFEIF(F)ER
PHELPS
PHILBRICK
PHILLIPS
PHINNEY
PHIPPS
PIC(K)ARD
PICKEL
PICKENS
PICKERING
PICKET(T)
PICK(E)IS)
PIDGEON
PIERCE
PIERSON
PIGGOT(T)
PIKE
PILCHER
PILKINGTON
PILLSBURY
PINCKNEY
PINE
PINKERTON
PINNEY
PIPER
PITCHER
PITT(T)MAN
PITT(S)
PLACE
PLANT
PLATT
PLEASANT(S)
PLUM(B)
PLUM(M)ER
PLUNKETT
POE
POGUE
POINDEXTER
POLAN(D)
POLK
POLLARD
POLLEY
POLLOCK
POMEROY
POND
POOL(E)
POOR(E)
POPE
PORTER
POSEY
POST
POTTER
POTT(S)
POUND
POWELL
POWER(S)
PRATT
PRAY
PREBLE
PRENDERGAST
PRENTICE
PRENTIS(S)
PRESCOTT
PRESTON
PRETYMAN
PREWITT
PRICE
PRIEST
PRIME
PRIM(M)
PRINCE
PRINDLE
PRINGLE
PRIOR
PRIT)CHARD
PRITCHETT
PROBST
PROCTER
PROCTOR
PROSSER
PROUT(Y)
PRUETT
PRUITT
PRYOR
PUGH
PULLEN
PULLEY
PUMPHREY
PURCELL
PURDY
PURSELL
PURVES
PURVIS
PUSEY
PUTNAM
PYLE
PYNE

QUACKENBOS
QUACKENBUSH
QUARLES
QUICK
QUIGLEY
QUIMBY
QUINBY
QUIN(N)
QUISENBERRY

RAAB
RABB
RABE
RADCLIFF(E)
RADFORD
RAE
RAGLAND
RAILEY
RAINES
RAINEY
RALEIGH
RALEY
RALPH
RALSTON
RAMAGE
RAMBO
RAMSAY
RAMSDELL
RAMSDEN
RAMSEY
RAND
RANDALL
RANDOLPH
RANGER
RANKIN
RANNEY
RANSOM
RANSON
RAPP
RATCLIFF(E)
RATH
RATHBONE
RATHBUN
RATHBURN
RAU(S)CH
RAWL(E)S
RAWLING)S
RAWSON
RAY
RAYMOND
RAYNER
RAYNOR

REA
READ
READER
READING
READY
RE(A)GAN
REAM
REARDON
REAVES
RECTOR
REDD
RED(D)ING
RED(D)INGTON
REDDY
REDFIELD
REDMAN

REDMON(D)
REECE
REED
REEDER
REEDY
REES(E)
REEVE(S)
REICHENBACH
REID
REIDY
REIF(F)
REILLY
REINHAR(D)T)
REITER
REMICK
REMINGTON
RENARD
RENAUD
RENFRO
REN(N)ICK
REVEL(L)
REYNOLDS
RHEA
RHO(A)D(E)S
RICE

RICH
RICHARD
RICHARDS
RICHARDSON
RICHMAN
RICHMOND
RICHTER
RICKARD(S)
RIC)KER
RICKETTS
RICKMAN
RICKS
RIDDELL
RIDDICK
RIDDLE
RIDER
RIDGLE(I)Y
RIDG(E)WAY
RIDLEY
RIEHM
RIFE
RIGBY
RIGGS
RIGHTER
RILEY
RINEHART
RING
RIORDAN
RIPLEY
RIT)CHEY
RITCHIE
RITTENHOUSE
RITTER
RIVERS
RIX
ROACH
ROAN(E)
ROBB
ROB(B)IN(S)
ROBE(R)SON
ROBERTS
ROBERTSON
ROB(E)Y
ROBIE
ROBINS
ROBINSON
ROB(I)SON
ROCHESTER
ROCHFORD
ROCK(E)
ROCKEFELLER
ROCKWELL
ROCKWOOD
RODDY
RODGERS
RODMAN
ROE
ROEBUCK
ROGERS
ROH(E)R)
ROLFE
ROLLINS
ROLLO
ROLSTON
ROOD
ROOK(E)
ROOKS
RO(O)NEY
ROOT
ROPER
ROSE
ROSS
ROSSER
ROSSITER
ROTH(E)
ROTHWELL
ROUND(S)
ROUN(D)TREE
ROURKE
ROUS(E)
ROUTH
ROWAN
ROWE
ROWELL
ROWLAND
ROWLETT
ROWLEY
ROY
ROYAL(L)
ROYCE
ROYER
ROYLE
ROYSTER
ROYSTON
RUCKER
RUDD
RUDE
RUDOLPH
RUDY
RUFFIN
RUGGLES
RUNKEL
RUNKLE
RUNYAN
RUNYON
RUPP
RUSH
RUSS
RUSSEL(L)
RUST
RUTH
RUTHERFORD
RUTLEDGE
RUTTER
RYALL
RYAN
RYDER
RYERSON

SABIN
SACKETT
SADLER
SAGE
SAGER
SALE(S)
SALISBURY
SALTER
SAM(P)SON
SAMUEL(S)
SANBORN
SANDERSON
SAND(S)
SANFORD
SANGER

SARGENT
SATTERLEE
SAUER
SAUNDERS
SAVAGE
SAVIER
SAWYER
SAXON
SAXTON
SAY
SAYER(S)
SAYLES
SAYRE
SCALES
SCARBO)ROUGH
SCARLETT

SCHA(E)F(F)ER
SC)HELL
SCHEN(C)K
SC)HERER
SCHMIDT
SCHMITT)
SCHNEIDER
SCH(H)OFIELD
SCHOOLEY
SCHOTT
SCHRADER
SCHRECK
SCHROE)DER
SCHROETER
SCHUBERT
SC(H)ULER
SC)HULTZ
SCHUMACHER
SCHUMAN(N)
SCHURMAN
SCHUSTER
SCHUTT(E)
SCHUYLER
SCHWAB
SCHWAR(T)Z
SCOTT
SCOVILL(E)
SCRIBNER
SCRUGGS
SCUDDER
SCULL
SEAGER
SEAL(S)
SEAMAN
SEARCY
SEARL(E)S
SEARS
SEATON
SEAVER
SEAVERNS
SEAY
SEBASTIAN
SEDGWICK
SEEBER
SE(E)GER
SEEL(E)Y
SEE)VER
SEIBERT
SEIBOLD
SEID(E)L
SEITZ
SELBY
SELDEN
SELDON
SELF
SELLECK
SELLERS
SELL(S)
SEMPLE
SERGEANT
SETTLE
SEVERANCE
SEVERN(S)
SEVIER
SEWALL
SEWARD
SEWELL
SEXTON
SEYBOLD
SEYMOUR
SHACKELFORD
SHAF)FER
SHANAHAN
SHANK(S)
SHARP(E)
SHATTUCK
SHAW
SHAY
SHEA
SHEAHAN
SHEARER
SHEEHAN
SHEFFIELD
SHELDON
SHELL(E)Y
SHELTON
SHEPHERD
SHEP(P)ARD
SHERIDAN
SHERIFF
SHERMAN
SHERRILL
SHERWIN
SHERWOOD
SHIELD(S)
SHINN
SHIPLEY
SHIPMAN
SHIRLEY
SHOEMAKER
SHREVE
SHUMAN
SI(E)BER(T)
SIEBOLD
SIKES
SILVESTER
SIM(M)ON(S)
SIM(M)S
SLADE
SMART
SNIDER

SNOW
SNOWDEN
SNYDER

SOM(M)ERVILLE
SOPER
SOULE
SOUTHWELL
SOUTHWORTH
SPAFFORD
SPANGLER
SPARK(S)
SPARROW

SPA(U)LDING
SPEAR(S)
SPEED
SPEER
SPEL(L)MAN
SPENCE
SPENCER
SPENGLER
SPERRY
SPICER
SPIER(S)
SPIL(L)MAN
SPOFFORD
SPOONER
SPOTSWOOD
SPRAGUE
SPRATT
SPRINGER
SPROAT
SPROUL(E)
SPROWL
SQUIER(S)
SQUIRE(S)
ST)AAT(S)
STACKHOUSE
STACKPO)OLE
STACY
STAFFORD
STAGG
STALEY
STALLINGS
STANDISH
STANFIELD
STANFORD
STANLEY
STANTON
STAPLES
STAPLETON
STARK(E)(S)
STARKEY
STAR(R)
STARRETT
STAUFFER
STCLAIR
STEAD
STE(A)DMAN
STEARN(S)
STEBBINS
STEED
STEEL(E)
STEEN
STEER(E)
STEERS
STEINER
STEPHEN
STEPHENS
STEPHENSON
STERLING
STERN(E)
STERRETT
STETSON
STEVENS
STEVENSON
STEWARD
STEWART
STICKNEY
STILES
STILL(E)
STILLMAN
STILL)WELL
STILSON
STIM(P)SON
STINSON
STIRLING
ST)OHN
STOCKER
STOCKING
STOCKMAN
STOCK(S)
STOCKTON
STOCKWELL

STODDARD
STOKES
STONE
STONER
STORER
STOR(E)Y
STORM
STOTT(S)
STOUFFER
STOUT
STOW(E)
STOWELL

STRAIGHT
STRANGE
STRATTON
STREATOR
STREET
STREETER
STRICKER

STRICKLAND
STRINGER
STRONG
STROUD
STRYKER
STUART
STUBBS
STUMP(E)
STUMP(F)
STURGES
STURGIS
STYLES
SULLIVAN
SUMMER(S)
SUMNER
SUNDERLAND
SUT(C)LIFF(E)

SUTHERLAND
SUT(T)ER
SUTTON

SWALLOW
SWAN(N)
SWAYNE
SWEEN(E)Y
SWEET
SWETT
SWIFT
SWOPE
SYKES

SYLVESTER
SYM(M)ES
SYMON(D)S

TABER
TABOR
TAFT
TAGGART
TAIT
TALBOT(T)
TALCOTT
TALIAFERRO
TALL(E)Y
TAL(L)MA)DGE
TAL(L)MAN
TANNER
TARBOX
TATE
TATNAM
TATUM
TAYLOR
TEAGUE
TEI(E)TER
TELLER
TEMPLE
TEMPLETON
TENNANT
TENN(E)Y
TENNISON
TENNYSON
TERRELL
TERRILL
TERRY
THARP(E)
THA(T)CHER
THAYER
THOMAS
THOMAS(S)ON
THOM(E)
THOM(P)SON
THOMS
THORN(E)
THORNHILL
THORP(E)
THRASHER
THROCKMORTON
THURMAN
THURSTON
TIBBET(T)S
TIBBIT(T)S
TIFFANY
TILDEN
TILGHMAN
TILLEY
TILLMAN
TILLOTSON
TILSON
TILTON
TINDALL
TINKER
TINSLEY
TIPTON
TISON
TITUS
TOB(E)Y
TOBIN
TODD
TOLMAN
TOLSON
TOMLINSON
TOM(P)KINS
TOPPING
TORREY
TOTTEN
TOWER(S)
TOWLE(S)
TOWNE
TOWNLEY
TOWNSEND
TRAC(E)Y
TRASK
TRAVER(S)
TRAVIS
TRE(A)DWELL
TREAT
TREMAINE
TRENT
TRIGG(S)
TRIPLETT
TRIPP
TROTT
TROTTER
TROUT
TROWBRIDGE
TRUAX
TRUE
TRU(E)MAN
TRUESDALE
TRUESDELL
TRUEX
TRUMBULL

TRYON
TUBBS
TUCK
TUCKER
TUDOR
TUFTS
TULLOCH
TULLY
TUNSTALL
TUR(C)K

TURNBULL
TURNER
TURNEY
TURPIN
TUTHILL
TUTTLE
TWINING
TYLER
TYNDALL
TYRRELL
TYSON

UNDERWOOD
UPDIKE
UPHAM
UPSHAW
UPSHUR

UPTON
URQUHART
USHER
VAIL
VALENTINE
VANARSDALE
VAN(BE)UREN
VANCAMP
VANCE
VANDERBILT
VAND(E)USEN
VANDEVENTER
VANDYCK
VANDYKE
VANHORN(E)
VANKAMPEN
VANLOON
VANMETER
VANNESS
VANNEST
VARNEY
VAUGH(A)N
VEAZEY
VEAZIE
VENABLE(S)
VERNON
VESEY
VICKERS
VICKERY
VINCENT
VINSON
VINTON
VIVIAN
VOS(E)
VOSS
VREELAND
WADDELL
WADDILL
WADE
WADSWORTH
WAGE)NER
WAGGONER
WAINWRIGHT
WAIT(E)
WAKEFIELD
WAKEMAN
WALBRIDGE
WALCOTT
WALDEN
WALDO
WALDRON
WALES
WALKER
WALL
WALLACE
WALLEN
WALLER
WALLING)
WALLIS
WAL()MSLEY
WALSH
WALTER(S)
WALTON
WARBURTON
WARD
WARDEN
WARE
WARFIELD
WARING
WARNER
WARREN
WARRICK
WARRINGTON
WARWICK
WASHBURN(E)
WASHINGTON
WATERHOUSE
WATERMAN
WATKINS
WATSON

WAT(T)ERS
WATT(S)
WAUGH
WAY
WAYNE
WEAVER
WEBB
WEB(B)ER
WEBSTER
WEEDEN
WEEDON
WEEK(E)S
WEEMS
WEIR
WEIS(S)E)
WELBORN
WELCH
WELD
WELDEN
WELDIN
WELDON
WELLER
WELLINGTON

WELLMAN
WELLS
WELSH
WELTON
WENDEL(L)
WENTWORTH
WEST
WESTBROOK
WES(T)COTT
WESTERVELT

WEST)LEY
WESTON
WETMORE
WHAL(L)EY
WHARTON
WHEAT

WHEATLEY
WHEATON
WHEDON
WHEELER

WHELDON
WHIPPLE
WHITCOMB
WHITE
WHIT(E)FORD
WHITEHEAD
WHIT(E)MAN
WHITESIDE
WHITEFIELD
WHITING
WHITLOCK
WHITMER
WHITNEY
WHIT(T)AKER
WHIT(T)(E)MORE

WHITTIER
WHITTINGTON
WHITTLE
WHITTLESEY
WICK(E)(S)
WICKHAM
WICKLIFFE
WIGGIN(S)
WIGG)INTON
WIGHTMAN
WILBER
WILBUR
WILBURN
WILDE)
WILDER
WILDMAN
WILK(E)S
WILLE
WILKIN(S)
WILKINSON
WILLARD
WILL)COX
WILLETT)(T)(S)
WILL)(A)E)Y
WILLIAMS
WILLIAMSON
WILLIS
WILLISTON
WILLITS
WILLOUGHBY
WILLS
WILMER
WILMOT
WILSON
WILTON
WINCHESTER
WINC)KLER
WINDHAM
WIN(D)SOR
WING
WING)FIELD
WINN(E)
WINSHIP
WINSLOW
WINSTON
WINTER
WINTHROP
WISDOM
WISE
WISEMAN
WISWALL
WISWELL
WITHAM
WITHERS
WITHERSPOON
WITT
WITTER
WOLCOTT
WOLF(E)
WOLFF
WOLLARD
WOODBRIDGE
WOODBURY
WOODCOCK
WOODFORD
WOODHOUSE
WOODHULL
WOODLEY
WOODMAN
WOODROW
WOODRUFF
WOOD(S)
WOODSON
WOODWARD
WOODWORTH
WOOL(D)RIDGE

WOOL()LEY
WOOLSEY
WOOSTER
WOOTEN
WOOTTON
WORCESTER
WORDEN
WORKMAN
WORLEY
WORRALL
WORRELL
WORTH
WORTHINGTON
WORTHLEY
WRAY
WREN(N)
WRIGHT
WYATT
WYCHOFF
WYCLIFFE
WYLIE
WYMAN
WYNKOOP
WYNN(E)
YALE
YANC(E)Y
YARB(O)ROUGH
YARDLEY
YARNALL
YARNELL
YATES
Y(E)AGER
YEOM(A)N(S)
YOCUM
YORK(E)
YOUNG
YOUNGER
YOUNGLOVE

ZIMMERMAN(N)

THESE MANUSCRIPTS MAKE IDEAL GIFTS

ROOTS RESEARCH BUREAU, LTD., Dept. 1149
39 W. 32 Street, Suite 704
N.Y., N.Y. 10001

Please send me postpaid the manuscript (or manuscripts) indicated below. I enclose $30.00 ($50.00 for any two, $75.00 for three) as payment in full. (New York State residents, add N.Y.S. sales tax.) It is understood that I will receive a refund if I am not satisfied.

Your Name _____

Street and No. _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Family Names of manuscripts desired

_____

_____

_____

CONSUMER CONFIDENCE 1918 The Better Business Bureau of New York City MEMBER ARBITRATION

BRICKBATS

It's illegal to cut down oak trees in Thousand Oaks, California, even if you own the tree and the land where it resides. Willard G. Vose received 12 months probation and a $300 fine after pleading guilty to violating the city's oak tree preservation law. He was charged with removing a limb from a tree on land he owns behind his tavern. Of course, officials merely want to preserve a basis for the city's name. But if this trend continues, we could see some interesting legislation in Climax, Michigan.

In the face of intense public resentment, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has decided to ease up on his anti-boozing campaign. Liquor stores will now stay open longer. Gorbachev had become the butt of a few jokes because of his anti-drinking attitudes: A Soviet consumer, infuriated by the endless line outside a liquor store, announces that he is going off to assassinate Gorbachev. He returns several hours later and, shaking his head, he reports, "The line over there was even longer."

Police in Pittsburgh can't seem to make up their minds. Do they want motorists to drive more slowly in the interest of public safety? Or do they want them to keep speeding so they can be caught and fined? John Thiry, who has chalked up $2,000 in traffic fines over the past few years, thought he'd help the police. He held up a sign telling motorists to slow down because of a police radar trap. They slowed down...and Thiry got arrested for obstructing traffic. He figures his 20-minute protest saved fellow motorists $3,000 in traffic fines. "I stopped a lot of people from having a miserable day," he boasts.

To suppress a boxer rebellion, corrections officials in New York's overcrowded jails will no longer allow inmates to wear sexy nylon underpants. Under existing regulations, prisoners wear

standardized uniforms but are permitted to keep their own underwear. However, inmates in passé white cotton drawers are jealous of their sartorial superiors, and fights, muggings, and thefts often ensue, according to jail officials. They've decided to end this class warfare by creating an egalitarian society of have-nots: all inmates will be issued cotton briefs. Perhaps tensions could be eased more by distributing briefs with humorous slogans, such as "Armed robbers do it for 10 to 15 years," or "My cellmate got parole and all I got was this lousy pair of underwear."

Bergen County, New Jersey, officials are just saying no to damn near everything anyone might want to do in the county parks. No bare feet. No drinking in the park. No feeding the geese. No sailing toy boats in the ponds. No taking longer than 15 minutes in the bathrooms. Violation of the edicts could result in a jail term of 90 days and a $500 fine. Freeholder Chairman Charles J. O'Dowd was the dissenting vote. He called outdoor drinking one of life's pleasures. Of his colleagues, he says, "They're on a temperance movement."

Pamela Prodan faces up to six months in jail and a $1,000 fine in Maine because she covered the picture of a red lobster and the word *Vacationland* on her car's license plates. The plates were introduced in 1987, and opponents complain they project an affluent image, ignoring the state's rural poor. But a state law makes it illegal to obscure any part of a license plate. "Right now, I'm looking into freedom of speech laws," says Prodan, who intends to fight the charges.

Increasingly violent protests in South Korea are making Han Young Ja quite rich. In fact, she earned more money in 1987 than anyone in the country—$7.3 million, of which she paid $3.4 million in income tax. Her secret? Han is president of the Sam Young Chemical Co., which holds a monopoly on the production of tear gas.

—Mark Edward Crane

How Your Child Could Be a Millionaire by Age 21

—Karl Hess

Capitalism for Kids by Karl Hess is unlike any book you have ever read. For the very first time, free market economics is presented simply and clearly. And, it teaches the most practical skill of all—how to make money.

The book is aimed at teaching business to kids in the 9 to 19 age group. Any young person you know who has entrepreneurial ambitions should read this book. It presents why and how you can earn a profit in business while still maintaining the highest possible standards of honesty and integrity.

Capitalism for Kids is fun to read and the ideas it presents are truly unique. It is written in a lively style with lots of useful examples.

Here are a few highlights revealed:

- A self test to help determine how enterprising the young reader really is.
- A special section for parents to show how you can help your child become financially successful.
- What young people need to know about working for themselves.
- How to make any product or service really stand out.
- How managing money and time is crucial.
- All about taking risks.
- How to get the most from an education.
- Setting up a family company.
- What type of college education is the most useful.
- Improving the education received at home.
- Using computers as handy business and financial aids.
- Where high school entrepreneur clubs are located.
- Why doing volunteer work can often be one of the best ways to start a business career.
- A practical review of laws, licenses and liabilities.
- Three common types of liability in business.
- Which fields hold the greatest money making potential for young people.
- Special advice to the reader from famous entrepreneurs contacted during the preparation of the book including David Packard, Chairman, Hewlett Packard, Inc.; Lillian Katz, Founder Lillian Vernon Inc.; and William Deardon, Former Chairman, Hershey Foods Corporation.

Attention Readers 19 or Under

To any reader of this message who is age 19 or under, you are eligible to participate in a contest that will help us capture the youth market. Your task is to create a full page ad, aimed at your age group, on why you like the book **Capitalism for Kids.** The grand prize is an opportunity to star in an upcoming commercial about the book. **Deadline for contest entry is June 1, 1988.**

What Readers Say:

"I don't want to just half heartedly recommend this book among the thousands of others out there that are worth reading. I want to urge you, as strongly and sincerely as possible, to buy it and read it first for yourself. Only then give it to a kid you like.

Karl's book crystallizes thoughts that most people have had, but haven't thought out fully. It washes away the foundations upon which fears and guilt are constructed over a lifetime; it replaces them with ideas you always believed in intuitively but weren't quite sure how to defend.

This book is really great. Make sure it is available to your kids and yourself."

Douglas Casey
***Author of* Investing in Crisis**

"Karl is one of the best writers I have ever come across. He worked for me in my Presidential Campaign, has written any number of papers and articles for me, and I can find no fault with him.

I think *Capitalism For Kids* will make very interesting reading, not just for young people, but for people of all ages. I say that, because Karl understands capitalism, he understands socialism, and he's quick to tell you which is the better of the two."

Barry Goldwater
Former U.S. Senator

"Author Karl Hess does a brilliant job presenting capitalism in a style that is both clear and entertaining to young people. But adults will be fascinated by it as well. I certainly learned much, particularly about the practical aspects of starting a small business.

Capitalism For Kids is bound to become a classic as well as inspire and encourage many new entrepreneurs young and old. And because it shows you how to become independent, make money, and even become rich, it's the most valuable gift book I've ever seen for any young person."

Roy A. Childs, Jr.
Laissez Faire Books, Inc.

"Karl Hess, one of the most interesting free thinkers I know, has written a marvelous book. It explains what making money is all about, in simple readable fashion that anyone nine or older can understand.

I found it delightful reading, especially the chapter on government intervention in business.

Capitalism For Kids can really get your child or grandchild excited about the free enterprise system."

Mark Skousen, Editor
Forecasts & Strategies

Kids Success Stories

Heather Brackeen and Stacey Smit, both 11, of Albuquerque, New Mexico opened their own shop called the Weaving Loom. They specialized in hand woven items such as scarves, placemats, purses, and pot holders.

Javier Corral Jurado, of Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, at the age of 13 was the founder, reporter, photographer, editor, ad salesman and publisher of *El Chisme,* "The Gossip". His newspaper is published every 2 weeks for 1500 readers.

At 15, Robert Lewis Dean borrowed $1,500 from his parents, bought a 1972 Cadillac and fixed it up then sold it at a profit. That was the beginning of his career that has included starting a business at age 16, selling it for $100,000 and starting other businesses dealing with limousines.

Special Note From The Publisher

"It is with special pleasure that I am offering **Capitalism For Kids** to you and your family.

From my personal experience at a young age, I remember how much I always wanted to be in business for myself. Yet, in school, virtually all I was taught was how to become someone else's employee. When I asked my teachers where I could get information about being my own boss, they couldn't recommend any books on the practical aspects of running a successful small business.

That's why this book is so unique. The "how to" ideas it presents are rarely taught in any schools.

I feel sure that this book will undoubtedly make a big difference in the future development and financial success of anyone who reads it, and I am proud to be its publisher."

Ted Nicholas
Publisher

About The Author

Karl Hess is an entrepreneur, former editor at *Newsweek* and author of six books. He writes with conviction about how and why applying the principles of free enterprise leads to independence and success.

Free Bonus—Money Plant

As a bonus for ordering, we'll send you absolutely free a packet of seeds for your (or your child's) very own, easy to grow money plant. The flowers for the unique Lunaria plant bloom into pods which resemble silver dollars.

Money Back Guarantee

Enterprise Publishing, Inc. ensures your complete satisfaction. Review **Capitalism For Kids** for up to 30 days, and if you are not completely satisfied for any reason, you may return it for a prompt and courteous refund.

To avoid disappointment, order your hardcover, limited edition copy today. The price is only $12.95 postpaid. There is no sales tax on your order and if the book is used to start a business, the purchase price is fully tax deductible. Quantity discounts are available to children's groups, clubs and organizations upon request.

To order, call now Toll-Free:

1-800-533-BOOK (2665)

Or send check or credit card information to:
Enterprise Publishing, Inc.
725 Market Street, Dept. RE-91U
Wilmington, DE 19801

©Enterprise Publishing, Inc. MCMLXXXVII U1016

BLOOM COUNTY by Berke Breathed

CHEER UP, MISTER FARMER! HERE'S YOUR CROP-INSURANCE SETTLEMENT!
AAAAND YOUR EMERGENCY DROUGHT RELIEF!
PLUS, OF COURSE, YOUR REGULAR GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY!
BUT I DIDN'T GROW ANYTHING BUT DIRT
AND YOUR GOVERNMENT APPRECIATES THAT!
IS ALLEN FUNT HIDING IN THE BUSHES?
9-5
© 1988 Washington Post Co

© 1988, Washington Post Writers Group. Reprinted with permission.

We Need a Subsidy-cide

Pesticides have become a crisis again. Environmental hazards haven't been fashionable popular causes since the early 1970s. But they came back in style when labor-movement icon Cesar Chavez fasted to protest allegedly dangerous chemicals used in growing California table grapes.

Stan Rhodes, a chemist and former food store manager, agrees that the government allows dangerous amounts of chemicals on farm products. But instead of going on a diet to protest, he started NutriClean Inc., of Oakland, California. His company offers to inspect farmers' fields and test the produce for contamination. If the produce passes the tests, he allows store owners to display a certificate declaring the produce to be safe.

Not everyone in government is comfortable with this vigilante regulator. The chief of California's Department of Food and Agriculture accuses Rhodes of feeding off public paranoia. The head of the California Table Grape Commission likens NutriClean to a "lynching party" formed by people who think the "sheriff" isn't doing his job. He threatens, God forbid, that someday private enterprise will certify doctors if we don't stop this kind of thing. The state legislature is moving to regulate companies such as Rhodes's and require them to post large bonds.

The most significant pesticide danger, however, may come not from relatively minor specialty crops, such as grapes and oranges, but from federally subsidized crops such as corn and wheat. Such subsidies directly result in the use of "too little land and too much chemicals," says Delworth Gardner, a farm policy expert and economics professor at Brigham Young University.

By supporting high crop prices and restricting the amount of land farmers plant, federal farm programs encourage farmers to grow much more on their remaining land than it would normally produce. Naturally, the farmers carpet-bomb their re-

VAT's Life?

The people who brought you the oil import fee and higher cigarette and gasoline taxes are now pitching a value-added tax (VAT), which slaps on a levy at each stage of production. For the struggling tax raiser, a VAT has several advantages. It functions like a sales tax, but a hidden one, so people generally won't know what it costs them. Higher prices for goods and services might encourage savings, so moderate Republicans who would probably balk at any other tax might grudgingly support a VAT. Finally, the Congressional Budget Office estimates that a 5 percent VAT could take $100 billion a year out of taxpayers' pockets.

Of course, there's no reason why the VAT couldn't be raised if the deficit still refused to budge. Indeed, a quick look at VATs in other countries shows that the rates do tend to rise.

VATS AROUND THE WORLD

	Year Established	Original Rate	Current Rate
Austria	1973	8%	20%
Belgium	1971	18	19
Chile	1975	20	30
Denmark	1967	10	22
France	1968	13.6	18.6
Ireland	1972	16.37	25
Israel	1976	8	15
Italy	1973	12	18
Ivory Coast	1960	8	25
Mexico	1980	10	15
Netherlands	1969	12	20
Norway	1970	20	20
South Korea	1977	10	10
Sweden	1969	11.1	12.87
Turkey	1985	10	15
United Kingdom	1973	10	15
West Germany	1968	10	14

Source: International Monetary Fund

TERI KLASS

maining land with a panoply of poisons: pesticides, insecticides, herbicides, rodenticides, fertilizers.

And, says Gardner, "fragile land that should never have been plowed, has been" because of federal programs. Land that would best be used as pasture, for example, is bombarded by farmers who must figure that, with enough chemicals, they could grow crops on linoleum.

—*Craig M. Collins*

Freedom and Peace Prevail

After a long battle, the Polish human rights group Freedom and Peace—founded three years ago by young people opposed to conscription—has won two startling victories. This summer the Polish parliament agreed to change the wording of its military oath. Soldiers will no longer be required to swear allegiance to Poland's "fraternal alliance with the Soviet army."

And in a related move, the government promised to release from prison all conscientious objectors and announced that conscripts will now have a civilian alternative to military service. About two dozen Freedom and Peace members have sent back their military service cards, and 14 have been jailed for refusing to serve. So far, none have been freed, but Western observers believe the government is just waiting for the most advantageous time to begin the release.

Freedom and Peace's efforts to carve out an area of life free from state control have thus far been successful. The Polish government's decision to allow civilian service marks the first time a Marxist government has recognized that an individual may put his conscience above the demands of the state. The government of Hungary has already indicated that it may follow the Polish example.

Composed mainly of university intellectuals, Freedom and Peace has been very active this year. The group acted as advisors to Solidarity in its most recent strike, helping to coordinate the activities of local strike councils. "The alliance of labor and intellectuals is a new development in Polish politics and something the government must take very seriously," says Barbara Sall, a representative of the group's Western arm.

—*Charles B. Oliver*

BALANCE SHEET

Assets

House Calls. Some 25 million Americans work at home for pay and profit. "The numbers today are vastly greater than the largest numbers we allowed ourselves to imagine," says Future Shocker Alvin Toffler. The trend promises to cut pollution, traffic, and commuting time. And it poses a fundamental challenge to zoning: if we're working at home, who's to say commerce doesn't belong in the neighborhood?

Trees Company. A low-cost, positive approach to the greenhouse effect emerges among some environmentalists: plant more trees. They consume carbon dioxide, produce oxygen, and cool things off. Plus, tree-planting can start (literally) in our own backyards, without government aid. And even if the greenhouse effect doesn't pan out, trees are nice to have around.

Masters of the University. Teeth-gnashing about the growing number of foreigners earning Ph.D.s at U.S. institutions misses an important point: our higher-education system works. It is, despite some flaws, the best in the world. We should try the same model—of diversity and choice—in the lower grades.

Safety First. The Transportation Department yields to consumer druthers and cuts automobile fuel-economy standards. Anticonsumerists like Carter safety maven Joan Claybrook wail. But it's hard to cry safety, since the old rule cost thousands of lives by forcing people into smaller cars. No matter. Up-to-date Joan clutches the competitiveness club. The higher standard, she says, would force the Big Three to make more small cars at home.

Liabilities

Family Feud. Baby M was only the beginning. Nowadays, kids are the most fought-over form of property. After their daughter dies, a couple finds out she wasn't theirs; the hospital mixed up two babies. Now they want the other girl. A California man appeals to the Supreme Court to get custody of the daughter his girlfriend put up for adoption. The reactions are understandable. But these are school-age kids, not abstract principles, and they might like to stay with the mom and dad they're used to.

Job Securities. The plant-closing law takes an odd turn, as its first "beneficiaries" turn out to be...*investment bankers*. Yep, Wall Street is laying off a damn sight more people than steel mills, and now they all get 60 days' notice. Says labor lawyer Bruce H. Simon: "The supreme irony is that a law designed to protect workers from the evils of capitalism will provide protection for the frontline troops of capitalism."

Secretarial Pool. The law that sets up the new Veterans Department creates a "National Commission on Executive Organization," guaranteed to come up with new ideas to lengthen cabinet meetings. Its chief backer, Sen. William Roth (R-Del.), has his heart set on a Department of Trade. By 2025, cabinet secretaries will not only outnumber congressmen, they'll form a union and hold meetings in the Astrodome.

Chips Ahoy. Nearly every industry that uses computer chips bids for government protection—all in the name of national security, of course. Industrial-policy pushers say "we" can't let "the Japanese" beat "us" in making high-definition TVs. (Yes, TV is vital to national security, especially if you're a company that might make TVs.) But *lots* of products use chips. Should we protect toasters? Bathroom scales? Talking teddy bears?

—*Virginia I. Postrel*

Oh, Sell Me a Home

When residents took over the management of Cleveland's Lakeview Terrace housing project, most observers thought they were in over their heads. After all, a bunch of welfare mothers couldn't possibly have the skills to run public housing. But the tenants proved everyone wrong. They cleaned up the project, collected rents, and improved security in one of the city's worst complexes. (See "Revolution in the Projects," July.)

Now the tenants' association and a private developer have teamed up to refurbish the slums surrounding the project. Tenant managers and the owners of the nearby Nautica entertainment complex will repair 3,000 housing units in and around Lakeview Terrace. Developers promise that current residents' rents won't go up and that some of the new units will be reserved for low-income people. The rest will be sold or rented at market rates to families of any income. Developers are convinced that the area—near the waterfront and Cleveland's bustling downtown—can attract middle-class families once it is renovated.

If local housing authorities okay the plan, the tenant association will be coowner of the new units. The association's share of the profits will fund social services and job-training programs for residents.

"Public housing doesn't work," developer Jeffrey P. Jacobs told the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*. "The tenants have something—that site—that they can turn into something because of the fact that it's near the water and near the downtown. And we have the development skills to do it."

—Charles B. Oliver

"If you want to talk about freedom, in Vietnam they don't have the freedom to practice their religion, to go on strike, to travel, or even to choose their jobs. What do you call that—political or economic?"

—Vietnamese refugee Chuong Vu Hung, who spent three years in a reeducation camp, on Asian governments' refusal to recognize "economic migrants" as refugees, quoted in the Wall Street Journal.

When the Chips Are Down

In 1986, the U.S. semiconductor industry convinced the government that Japanese manufacturers had won a large and growing share of the domestic market by "dumping" chips in the United States below cost. So the Reagan administration pressured the Japanese government into establishing production quotas on semiconductors in order to limit supply and boost prices.

The agreement met its goal. In a little more than a year, chip prices doubled and then some. This added more than $100 to the price of a $600 personal computer, estimates Brookings Institution economist Kenneth Flamm.

Unbelievably, there is talk of extending the agreement. This despite the fact that the U.S. market was never actually in any "danger" of being taken over by the Japanese. The Japanese share of the U.S. market is neither large nor growing, reports *California Technology Stock Letter*. It has held at about 10 percent over the last five years.

Advocates of the agreement used a subtle two-step argument to make Japanese

Breaking Glass-Steagall

Despite special-interest maneuvering and congressional in-fighting, the Glass-Steagall Act, a Depression-era law separating commercial and investment banking, appears headed for extinction.

The economic case for repeal is overwhelming. Permitting banks to underwrite corporate equity and debt would give new and expanding businesses more ways to raise money. Letting banks offer insurance and real estate services would increase competition and provide consumers with lower prices. Deregulation would also make U.S. banks more competitive with the foreign banks that dominate international finance.

Last March, the Senate passed a bill to let bank holding companies offer most investment banking services, including transactions in mutual funds and corporate bonds. A similar bill was stalled in the House by squabbling between Reps. Fernand St Germain (D-R.I.) and John Dingell (D-Mich.) over whose committee had jurisdiction. St Germain wasn't reelected in November, but his replacement as chairman will likely continue the battle.

While Congress prattles, the Federal

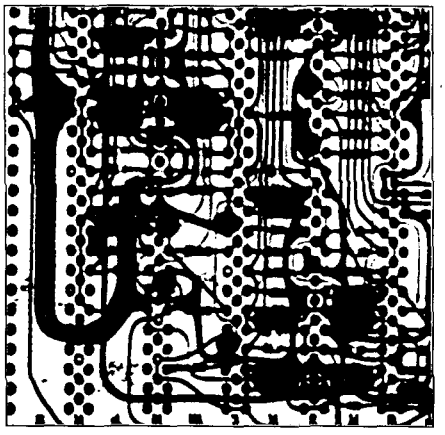
Rep. John Dingell: *Fighting over the banks*

Reserve is poised to take action. The Fed enforces and interprets Glass-Steagall restrictions, and over the last few years it has expanded banks' power to engage in securities transactions. In 1987, the Fed punched a large hole in the wall separating commercial and investment banking when it ruled that separate subsidiaries of commercial banks could underwrite certain securities—so long as the subsidiaries weren't "principally engaged" in underwriting. (The "not principally engaged" clause was in Glass-Steagall, but only in the last three years has the Fed clarified it.)

In '87, the Fed defined "not principally engaged" as limiting underwriting to 25 percent of an affiliate's business. But observers believe it is prepared to stretch this limit to 49 percent, as well as expand the range of securities that affiliates can handle. In addition, the Fed might rule that some real estate services are "closely related to banking" and allow banks to move into those fields. However, Congress guards its territory and may keep the Fed from deregulating.

"For the last six years Congress has debated Glass-Steagall repeal," says Michael Becker, director of Citizens for a Sound Economy's financial services project. "Intellectually, we have won the argument. It probably won't occur this year, but deregulation seems inevitable."

—Charles B. Oliver



companies' market share seem larger than it really is. First, they left out a third of the market by omitting chip consumption by major computer manufacturers such as IBM and Texas Instruments that make their own semiconductors.

Then they shrank the market even further by considering only sales of dRAMs, the most basic memory chips. U.S. manufacturers have concentrated their efforts on the more sophisticated chips used by the military or in telecommunications. Japanese manufacturers have poured their efforts into making dRAMs, which are more easily mass-produced.

This creative definition is what made it seem that the Japanese dominated the U.S. chip market—and what consumers have paid dearly for.

—*Charles B. Oliver*

"If the Hong Kong government ever used its powers by locking people up without trial, questions would be asked in the British Parliament. But when we return to the motherland, can we be sure that our freedoms will be safeguarded by the National People's Congress, where the Communist Party is in practice above the law?"

—Martin Lee, member of the Hong Kong Legislative Council, quoted in Business Month.

How to Be a Billionaire

Just because Sweden is a socialist country doesn't mean its citizens can't get rich. The way to make big money in Sweden is to make the most of government controls, as a survey of the country's richest families reveals.

Back in 1982, when the business weekly *Affärsvärlden* made its first study, it found only four billionaires (in Swedish kronor, corresponding to $160 million at today's exchange rates). Twenty-six families were worth more than 100 million kronor.

The Socialists returned to power that same year—and a lot of people have earned a lot of money since then. This year's study shows 23 billionaires (three of whom would be billionaires also in dollars) and 163 families who are worth more than 100 million kronor. A nice result of an egalitarian socialist policy!

Forty of the 100 wealthiest families are

NOW AVAILABE IN PAPERBACK

Order #EC0034
ONLY $6.95

FROM
LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS

Plus $1.00 postage and handling, or $2.00 UPS ($2.00 for foreign orders.) N.Y. State residents add appropriate sales tax.

THE STATE AGAINST BLACKS

by Walter Williams

"An eye-opening expose of how government hurts the very people it claims to help."--**Thomas Sowell**

Walter Williams exposes the fraud of today's conventional liberal thinking.

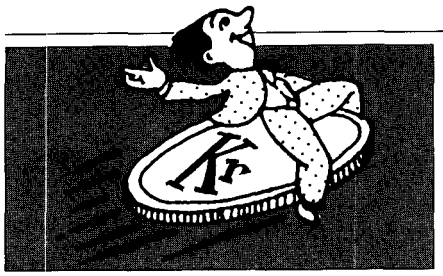
Williams, one of today's most courageous and controversial thinkers, reveals that "instead of racial discrimination and bigotry, it is the 'rules of the game' that account for many of the economic handicaps faced by blacks."

Williams demonstrates that minorities and the poor are actually impeded from economic growth by limitations on voluntary exchange that are part and parcel of the welfare state.

★ **ORDER TOLL-FREE** ★
1-800-238-2200 EXT. 500
Continental U.S. • 24 hours a day • 7 days a week
or USE THE POSTAGE-PAID RESPONSE CARD IN THIS MAGAZINE

MONEY BACK GUARANTEE: *If for any reason you are dissatisfied with any book, just return it within 30 days for a refund.*

Available from: LAISSEZ FAIRE BOOKS, **Dept. RE6R**
532 Broadway, New York, NY 10012



involved in housing and construction—an industry that is both heavily controlled by the government and heavily subsidized. The key to success is to get all the needed permits (it can take 100 permits to build an ordinary office building). Once you get them, however, you can sit back and just count the money.

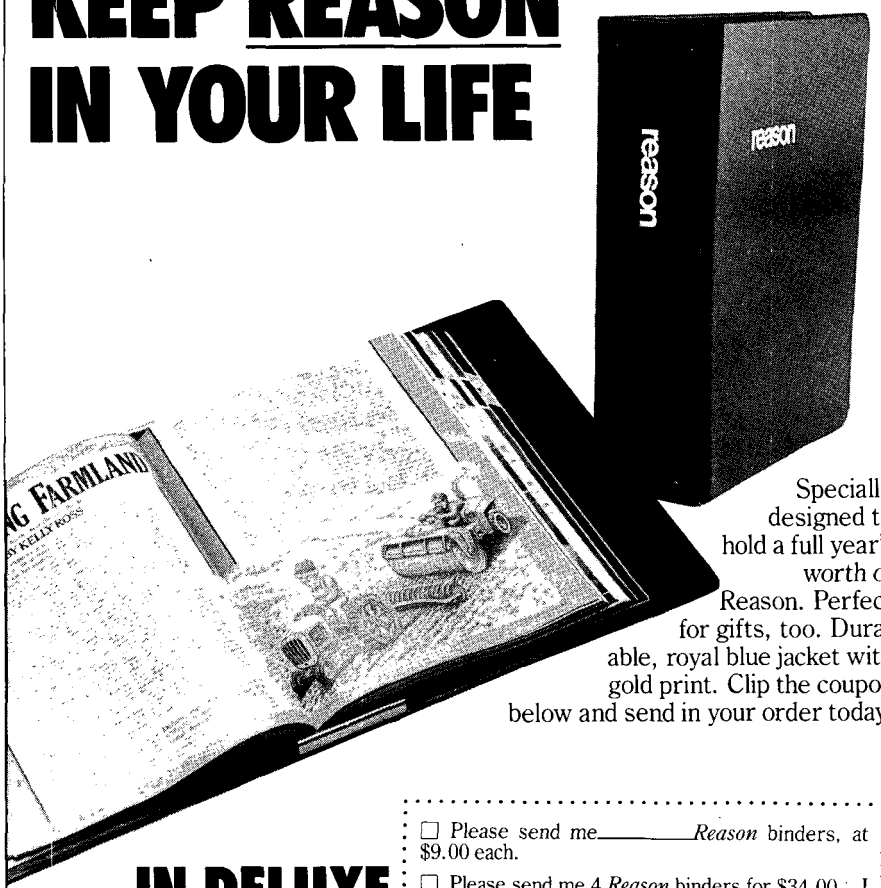
Another 11 of the top 100 families are involved in banking and finance—where the government's deficit has combined with deregulation of capital markets to create new opportunities. One of the most successful entrepreneurs of the past decade, Claes Ivarsson, made his fortune by establishing a company dealing in government securities. By creating an efficient market where none had existed before, his company, Penningmarknadsmäklarna, has substantially decreased the government's cost of financing its vast deficit—saving the taxpayers billions of kronor every year.

Recently, however, a turnover tax was introduced on trades involving government securities. The reason? Socialist egalitarians object to Ivarsson and his colleagues making too much money. As a result of the tax, the volume of trading in government securities has dropped to a third of what it used to be, and interest rates have increased.

Another man on the *Affärsvärlden* list, industrialist Erik Penser, used to be worth some 4-5 billion. But recently he substantially increased his net value—and let taxpayers foot the bill—by selling the second-largest stock brokerage in Sweden to the government for almost three times its value. The purchase price of 2.7 billion kronor (for a company worth maybe a billion, according to independent estimates) came in the form of a 20 percent stake in a government-owned bank. For those who know how to handle it, a socialist government certainly is a way to make big private money.

—Carl G. Holm, Linköping

KEEP REASON IN YOUR LIFE



Specially designed to hold a full year's worth of Reason. Perfect for gifts, too. Durable, royal blue jacket with gold print. Clip the coupon below and send in your order today.

IN DELUXE REASON BINDERS.

☐ Please send me_____ *Reason* binders, at $9.00 each.

☐ Please send me 4 *Reason* binders for $34.00—I save $2.00. (U.S. orders include postage and handling. Orders outside U.S. add $1.00 per binder.) Payments must accompany order.

(CA residents add 6% sales tax.)

Name

Address

City State Zip

Mail to: Reason Enterprises, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Ste. 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405

For Your Information

Groups or individuals mentioned in this month's Trends:

■ Pesticide Policy
B. Delworth Gardner
Brigham Young University
Provo, UT 84602
(801) 378-7487

NutriClean Inc.
149 Franklin Street, Suite B
Oakland, CA 94607
(415) 832-1415

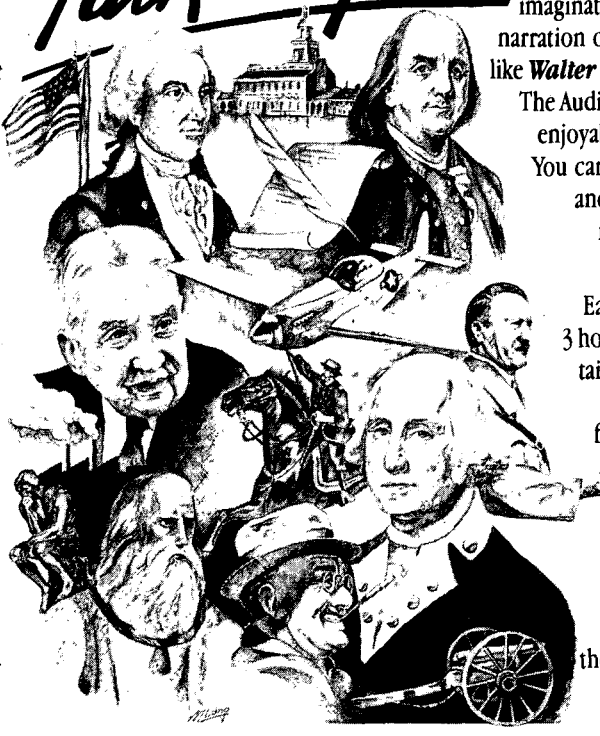
■ Freedom and Peace
Barbara Sall
1709 Irene Street
Boise, ID 83702
(208) 344-6922

■ Banking Reform
Michael Becker
Citizens for a Sound Economy
470 L'Enfant Plaza East, S.W.
Suite 7112
Washington, DC 20026
(202) 488-8200

INTRODUCTORY $1.00 OFFER

The World's GREAT THINKERS

Talk To You



PENETRATING INSIGHTS

The wisdom of the *past* can help us better understand the *present* and anticipate the *future*. But how many of us have time to read and study the ideas of classic authors?

For those who don't, *Knowledge Products* has gathered the works of the world's most influential thinkers in an exciting series of audio cassettes.

DRAMATIZED PRESENTATIONS

The Audio Classics are not simply readings of great books — they are dramatized condensations of philosophy, politics, economics, war, and other timeless topics. You'll hear about the lives of classic authors and great historical leaders, the influences on their work, the criticisms and praises of observers, and much more. Each presentation combines the skill and imagination of talented actors with the narration of leading American journalists like ***Walter Cronkite*** and ***Louis Rukeyser.*** The Audio Classics Series™ is an efficient, enjoyable way to acquire knowledge. You can listen to these cassettes again and again with fresh insights and renewed enjoyment each time!

$1.00 TRIAL OFFER

Each month you'll receive almost 3 hours of enlightenment and entertainment, always on a 15-day risk-free trial. You can receive the first selection at the special price of $1.00 (plus $2.00 shipping & handling) — a savings of $13.95! Try the Audio Classics today to stimulate your mind, broaden your horizons, and enrich your life! Simply mail the coupon below or call toll free ***1-800-876-4332 ext. 151.***

Here are some of the classic authors, great ideas and historic events that you'll learn about:

1 THE GIANTS OF POLITICAL THOUGHT
- Jefferson • Paine • Thoreau • Garrison
- Smith • Mill • Wollstonecraft • Machiavelli
- Boetie • Marx & Engels • Rousseau
- Hamilton, Madison & Jay
- Burke • Hobbes • Locke • Tocqueville

2 THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION
(narrated by Walter Cronkite)
- Constitutional Convention
- Ratification Debates
- Text of the Constitution
- Bill of Rights and Additional Amendments

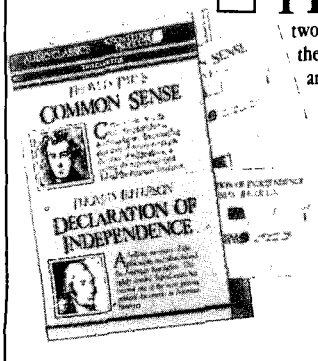
3 THE GREAT ECONOMIC THINKERS
(narrated by Louis Rukeyser)
- Classical • Marx • Austrian • Marshall
- Welfare Capitalism • Walras • Schumpeter
- Institutionalism • Chicago School
- Free Market • Keynes • Post Keynes
- Supply Side/Monetarism

4 THE UNITED STATES AT WAR
- American Revolution • War of 1812 • Civil War
- Mexican War • Spanish American War
- WWI • WWII • Korean War • Vietnam War

5 THE GIANTS OF PHILOSOPHY
- Plato • Aristotle • Augustine • Aquinas • Kant
- Spinoza • Hume • Hegel • Schopenhauer
- Kierkegaard • Nietzsche • Dewey • Sartre

6 PLUS, MORE GREAT IDEAS
ON IMPORTANT TOPICS OF INTEREST TO YOU!

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-876-4332 Ext. 151
TO START YOUR SUBSCRIPTION TODAY!



☐ YES! Send me, for $1.00 plus $2.00 shipping and handling, Common Sense and The Declaration of Independence, and begin my no-risk subscription to the Audio Classics Listening Library. I will receive an album of two cassettes every month, and you'll charge my credit card $14.95 plus $2 shipping and handling ($4 outside the U.S.) for each album. If I'm ever displeased, I have the right to return the current album within 15 days and owe nothing. I may drop out of the program at any time without penalty.

Introductory Offer $1.00

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

☐ Charge my credit card.

☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa ☐ American Express

EXPIRATION DATE

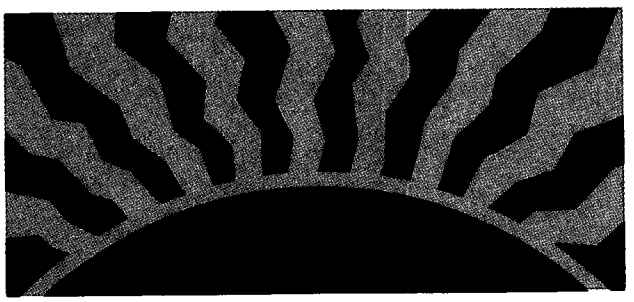
ACCOUNT NUMBER

SIGNATURE

#151-A09

KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTS® Customer Service Center • Box 305151 • Nashville, TN 37230

America's Rising Sun



The doomsayers ignore unique strengths that could spark a resurgence in our third century of independence.

BY JOEL KOTKIN

Over the past year America has become a nation obsessed with forebodings of decline. A perceptible gloom grips the nation's political, corporate, and media elites. We have seen one bestseller, Paul Kennedy's *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, chart America's progress down the road to relative insignificance and another, Allan Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind*, paint America's future—its young people—as essentially anti-intellectual, Philistine, and in conflict with the basic values of our civilization.

Yet even as they point out serious deficiencies—the primacy of consumption over production and military spending over the generation of wealth—the apostles of decline are distorting the objective reality of America's actual situation in the world. In their passion to explode the Norman Rockwellesque mythology of Reaganism, the decliners ignore the assets that can help America reclaim its message to the world.

One common fallacy is to compare the United States to the fading empires of the past, most particularly Great Britain. But unlike Britain, or any of the other past empires, the United States remains a relatively young nation, still in the process of establishing its own identity. Even after the debacles of the last 15 years, including the disaster in Vietnam and widespread stagnation on the industrial front, this youthfulness gives us what Fuji Kamiya, a leading social commentator and professor at Tokyo's Keio University, describes as *sokojikara*—a resiliency and ability to recover in new and often unexpected ways.

America's revolutionary message—its promise of an open economic and political system based on individuals freely associating—remains as relevant and powerful as in any epoch.

America's *sokojikara* rests upon three pillars—massive immigration, an entrepreneurial open economy, and vast natural resources. At a time when many critics suggest we refashion our national character to European or Japanese standards, we would be far better served by finding ways to build upon these unique advantages. In the process we can best find the strategy for America's resurgence in our third century of independence.

BY CHANGING THE VERY CORE OF AMERICA, its people and their racial identity, immigration has the potential to play the most revolutionary role in this resurgence. Since the 1970s the United States has accepted more *legal* immigrants than the rest of the world combined. Due largely to their presence, America by the 1990s will have a younger population than any of our rivals; in Japan, for instance, by the end of the century, the percentage of retirees will be nearly twice ours. In Europe, where anti-immigration sentiment has been growing, some national populations are already beginning to shrink, with Germany's expected to fall nearly 50 percent by the middle of the 21st century.

Perhaps more important than mere numbers, however, is the racial makeup of America's new immigrants, the vast majority of whom hail from Latin America and Asia. Due largely to their presence and to their higher birth rates, by the middle of the 21st century the majority of Americans will no longer trace their ancestry to Europe. We are moving from being a "melting pot" of Europeans to a "world nation" with links to virtually every part of the inhabited globe.

In a world where the economic center of gravity is rapidly shifting away from the Atlantic toward the Pacific Basin, the emergence of the American world nation provides a major advantage in adjusting to the new world reality. As a world nation, the United States can transcend its European identity and emerge as a multiracial role model in an increasingly nonwhite world economic order.

Some may see in this concept of the world nation a contradiction of the traditional America. Yet it rests solidly upon the basic ideological firmament of our republic. Never a racial or cultural motherland in the sense of *La France* or *Dai Nippon*, America at its best represents a universal idea, a conception of humanity that transcends narrow racial classifications.

This idea has its roots in the earliest days of the republic. Thomas Paine, writing in 1776, rejected the notion of America as a purely Anglo-Saxon nation. In revolutionary Pennsylvania, for instance, Germans represented a majority of the population and Englishmen less than a third. In 1790, before the final ratification of the Constitution, Anglo-Saxons constituted slightly less than 50 percent of the population. Far from being merely an offshoot of English civilization, America, in the conception of revolutionaries such as Paine, was destined to be "an asylum for mankind."

Today, Paine's notion has expanded to include not only other Europeans but people of other races as well. The growing appreciation of nonwhite contributions—from the celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday to the academic study of Hispanic and Asian roles in developing the American West—reflects the continuing development of the original revolutionary idea. Today we more fully embody what Walt Whitman wrote over a century ago: "America is the race of races."

The power of this new identity can already be seen in the growing hegemony of multiracial American culture—epitomized by nonwhite stars such as Eddie Murphy and Michael Jackson—throughout various nations of the world. Already the second-largest source of American exports, our entertainment industry dominates virtually every market in which it is allowed to operate. But it is more than movies and music. It is the appeal of our individualist lifestyle that is leading to "the Californianization of the free world," in Japanese consultant Kenichi Ohmae's phrase.

The emergence of the American world nation also has profound ideological implications. The American message—stressing individual rights and private initiative—is gradually becoming universal and less linked to "white" ideology. Nowhere is this clearer than in China, where American cultural and political influence has a powerful appeal, particularly among the young. When 50,000 Chinese students demon-

strated in Shanghai's People's Square in December 1986, they waved banners depicting the Statue of Liberty and a dragon bound in chains. Emblazoned on the banners were calls for such American-style values as democracy, human rights, and freedom.

None of this means to suggest that these foreign movements identify with the defense or foreign policy positions of U.S. administrations. But it does suggest that our cultural forms and ideals, if not our policies, still possess a revolutionary appeal to those non-Europeans who constitute the overwhelming majority of the planet's inhabitants.

But we do not have to look abroad for the positive impact of immigration. Hispanic influence has transformed Miami into the banking capital of Latin America, while on a smaller scale boosting San Antonio and San Diego into business centers for rapidly industrializing northern Mexico. Asian immigrants have turned Los Angeles and San Francisco into dynamic centers of Oriental capitalism.

Indeed, wherever they have clustered, immigrants have injected new dynamism into local economies. In the Santa Clara Valley near San Francisco, for instance, nearly 70 companies have been formed by Chinese-Americans. And, notes Robert Kelley, president of the Southern California Technology Executives Network, an association of 170 local technology firms, "Without the movement of Asians, particularly Vietnamese, there would not have been the sort of explosion you had in Orange County."

An example of that explosive growth is AST Research, a leading personal computer firm. It was founded in 1980 by a typical group of new American entrepreneurs: Tom Yuen and Albert Wong hailed from the crowded tenements of Hong Kong; Safi Qureshey was the son of a Pakistani foreign service officer, raised in Karachi. Although they had been brought up in the backwaters of Asia's colonial past, their aspirations were American. "My school was British, but it seemed foreign to me," says Wong, who emigrated in 1970. "But America was different. It was *our* culture; the movies, TV, and Pepsi were everywhere. The Gemini program, Apollo—they were what we talked about back home."

When AST's sales broke $400,000 in 1982, the young company resorted to traditional Chinese methods. Albert Wong called in members of his sprawling family, who in turn recruited their friends. When the production runs got larger than the family could handle, they recruited hundreds of Vietnamese, Chinese, and Latinos who had begun to concentrate in the poorer sections of the county. Today, AST, with sales in excess of $206 million, stands as the world's leading independent producer of add-on boards for personal computers. With sparkling new plants in Hong Kong and Irvine, California, it makes over one-quarter of its sales overseas, mostly in Europe and Asia.

Similarly, Hispanic immigrants play a crucial role in the garment, leather, textile, furniture, and lumber industries in Southern California. During the 1970s, all these California businesses grew by more than 50 percent, while the same industries declined in the rest of the country. Rather than taking jobs from "native" Americans, note Rand Corp. researchers Kevin P. McCarthy and R. Burciaga Valdez, the massive influx of Mexicans into California has actually boosted employment. As Richard Rothstein, former manager of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in Los Angeles puts it: "Prohibiting employment of immigrants, the only workers willing to labor in minimum and near-minimum garment jobs, will only accelerate the destruction of domestic industry."

It is the appeal of our individualist lifestyle that is leading to "the Californianization of the free world."

THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION BY OUR IMMIGRANTS reflects a greater source of American strength—the openness of our economic system. This flexibility, allowing for the birth and death of companies on a massive scale, has produced in the past decade a resurgence of entrepreneurial enterprise admired around the world. As Peter Drucker has noted, "America shares equally in the crisis that afflicts all developed countries. But in entrepreneurship—in creating the different and the new—the United States is way out in front."

Drucker's observation, of course, flies in the face of many of the leading economic gurus, such as Harvard's Robert Reich, who reject the entrepreneurial model for the more closed and controlled corporatist system common in Europe and, to a lesser extent, some Far Eastern nations. It also contradicts the notion advanced by Reich that our addiction to "individualism" and "the myth of the self-made man" lies at the heart of America's economic problems.

In reality, it is precisely this individualism, as expressed in entrepreneurial activity, that provides the economic basis for

TIM TEEBKEN

America's resurgence. Due almost totally to small and mid-sized firms, the United States in the 1980s has created nearly 15 times as many jobs as the more closed and controlled systems of Europe.

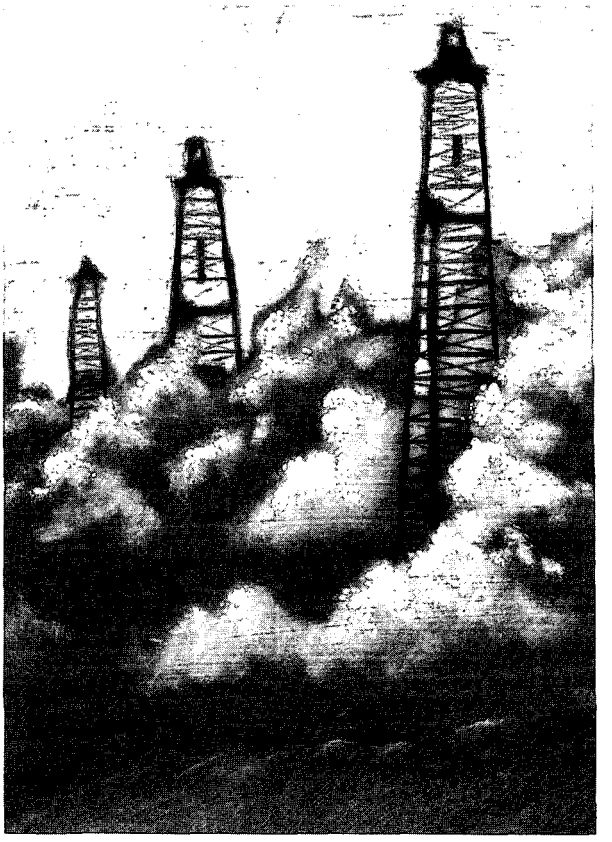
In fact, the European model—with its much-ballyhooed stress on cooperation among government, labor, and business—has proved almost totally incapable of meeting the economic challenges of the 1980s. Unemployment rates in these countries, once far lower than in the United States, are now as much as two to three times the U.S. level—despite stagnant or even decreasing populations. Even as the economic gurus urge us to adopt the corporatist model, many European leaders, from Margaret Thatcher to members of France's Socialist Party, are seeking ways to emulate the American model.

Equally important, entrepreneurs are emerging as key players in the reindustrialization of the United States. Falsely linked by such pundits as John Naisbitt with the rise of a "post-industrial" society, entrepreneurs are manning the manufacturing battlements all too often abandoned by our large corporations.

While large firms shed nearly 1.4 million factory jobs between 1974 and 1984, nearly 41,000 *new* industrial companies have offset almost all this loss. As a result, companies employing fewer than 250 employees have increased their share of American manufacturing employment to 46 percent, up from 42 percent a decade ago. If this trend continues, small firms could employ 50 percent of our industrial workforce by the 1990s.

The success of these firms springs from superior execution. For instance, Nucor Corp., based in Charlotte, North Carolina, now produces twice as much steel per hour as its giant U.S. counterparts. From its new Pilgrim, Utah, plant, Nucor is also penetrating the West Coast markets dominated by the Japanese and other Asian steelmakers. In 1986, the company began an assault on the steel-fastener market, at present 90 percent dominated by foreign firms, and in the following year started construction of a technically advanced plant outside Indianapolis to produce flat rolled steel, thus threatening one of the last bastions of the big steel companies.

Nucor president Ken Iverson, who took over the company in its infancy back in 1965, believes in economic *sokojikara*, even in one of the world's most overbuilt, fiercely competitive industries. Convinced that free competition can lead to renewal, he opposes protectionist measures. "Unless you're under intense competitive pressure and it becomes a question of the survival of the business to do it, you're just going to lapse back into your old ways," Iverson says. "There's no other answer. But out of all this will come a lot of things that are beneficial: more of an orientation toward technology, greater productivity, certainly a lot of changes in management structure." Such manufacturing companies, with their internal flexibility and emphasis on niche markets, will become increasingly crucial in America's struggle to regain international competitiveness.



Rather than some conspiracy to take over America, surging foreign investment reflects an appreciation of our natural advantages.

THIS LEADS TO THE MOST IMPORTANT CHALLENGE of all, meeting the competition from Japan and other rising economic powers in Asia. Of course, here again the economic gurus have their European guidebook ready, urging an industrial policy based on close cooperation among organized labor, government bureaucrats, and, most particularly, the *Fortune 500* corporations—the very forces that have led us to the current abyss.

Fortunately, there are signs that some large U.S. companies—notably Xerox, IBM, and Cummins Engine—are recommitting themselves to the "blocking and tackling" of the production process. Product-oriented executives, such as Ford's Don Peterson and IBM Executive Vice President Jack Kuehler, are emerging as the new corporate role models, replacing the discredited green eyeshade managers typified by David Roderick of USX and Roger Smith of GM.

But the most significant challenge to the Japanese will likely come not from the renewal of large companies but from a new breed of American industrialists. These executives, hardened by the humiliations of the past 15 years, represent something of a "post-Vietnam" generation. Unlike the prototypical managers of the 1960s and 1970s, they have gained the wisdom not to assume American supremacy. At the same time, these executives—many only in their 20s and 30s—have no desire to hand the keys of the future to Asian competitors.

This post-Vietnam mentality can be seen at work in companies all across the spectrum of American industry. Steel minimills, such as Nucor, now represent over one-fifth of the nation's steel production, winning market share not only from U.S. giants but also from Japanese and Korean steelmakers. And while Japan's vertically integrated electronics houses have

"taken over" the high-volume, low-margin dRAM market, smaller American firms—such as LSI Logic, Cypress Semiconductor, and Linear Technologies—have continued to dominate many of the cutting-edge, high-margin parts of the chip business.

But perhaps the most interesting example of the post-Vietnam managers can be seen in the microcomputer feld. Several years ago, many analysts predicted that only giant firms, such as IBM and AT&T, would be able to withstand the onslaught of the Japanese and Korean conglomerates. Yet since 1986 the gainers in market share and profitability have been the new breed of entrepreneurial industrial firms—such as Compaq, AST Research, Everex, and Dell Computers—all of whom started within the past decade.

The failure of Japanese companies to win in the personal computer business reflects a growing problem for the island nation. While the Japanese have done well in projecting themselves into already established industries, often with the assistance of their brain-dead American competitors, they have had little success in creating the new growth companies—the modern-day equivalents of the Hondas and Sonys of the 1950s—who tend to provide leadership in cutting-edge industries.

We are moving from being a "melting pot" of Europeans to a "world nation" with links to virtually every part of the globe.

Such trends, of course, rarely impress our politicians, corporate lobbyists, and economic gurus, but the Japanese themselves are profoundly aware of these problems. Although currently buoyed by low oil prices and an orgy of domestic spending, Japan's rate of economic growth, once among the highest in the world, has in recent years been roughly even with that of the United States and below that of such places as California.

Equally important, the current *endaka*, or yen shock, has sent Japan, the prototypical industrial superpower, speeding toward a more service-based and financially driven economy. Over the past few years, new investment in plant and equipment has generally slowed, and the largest source of profits for many Japanese firms last year was not products but *zaitech*, money made through financial and real estate transactions. While American MBAs are rethinking their commitment to Wall Street, Japanese financial institutions, now the world's largest, are becoming "hot" among that nation's top college graduates. And without a pool of immigrants to take up the slack, Japanese industry is having problems finding young motivated workers to man its assembly lines.

IF THESE PATTERNS SEEM FAMILIAR to Americans, they should be—the United States has undergone a similar process in the past 25 years. But Japan's transition from an industrial to a financial paradigm is likely to be more lasting. This is because Japan lacks that third pillar of *sokojikara*, a large continental landmass.

Growing up in a huge country, we Americans often forget the advantages of our natural endowment. Our prime industrial competitors—Japan, the newly industrializing nations of Asia, and Western Europe—are fundamentally land and resource poor. Many of these nations, notably Japan and Germany, spent much of the first half of this century attempting to achieve what the Japanese call *tairiku*, or continental power, ultimately failing at terrible cost.

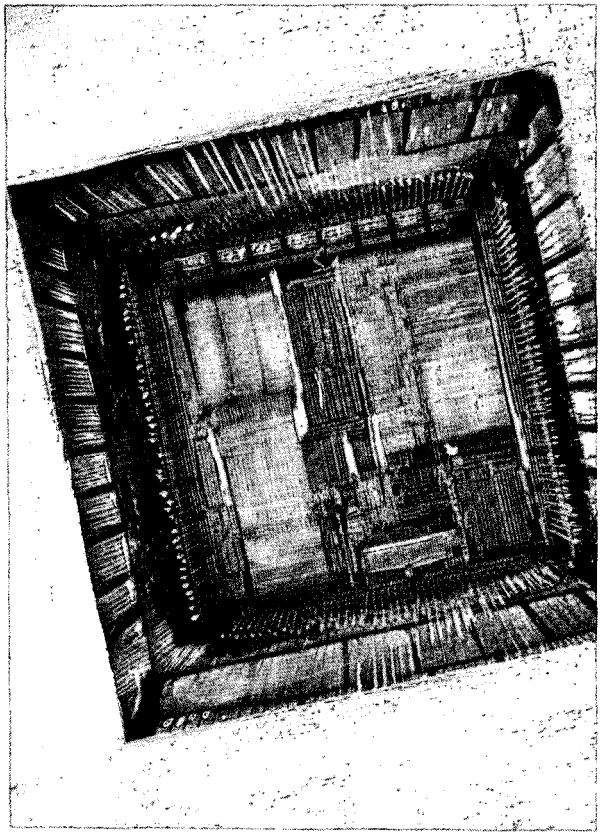
Rather than some dark conspiracy to "take over" an America beset with a weak currency, the recent upsurge in foreign investment reflects foreigners' often greater appreciation of our natural advantages, as well as U.S. demographic and entrepreneurial vitality. A poll of Western European executives in 1984—at the height of the strong dollar—found that 45 percent preferred the United States as their first choice for expansion. Similarly, the majority of all capital exported from the cash-rich Chinese diaspora, notably Taiwan and Hong Kong, is flowing toward the United States.

But in the long run, no nation more appreciates American *tairiku* power than Japan. Within its borders the United States possesses 30 times Japan's arable land, 1,300 times its oil reserves, and 327 times its coal deposits. Viewed from the Japanese perspective, the United States simply represents what Max Weber once called "the area of optimal economic opportunities."

Japan's could be a crucial role—in terms both of capital and of technology—in rebuilding our nation's industrial plant. Increasingly, for instance, many of our imports from Japan are in the form, not of consumer products such as cars and VCRs, but of capital goods, such as machine tools and textile-making machinery, that are used to make products here at home. Sometimes these goods find their way into Japanese-financed industrial expansions—from the car plants in Ohio to cotton mills in California.

Indeed, so great is Japan's role in refinancing America—accounting for roughly 45 percent of that nation's worldwide direct foreign investment in 1986—that some Japanese are afraid it might eventually threaten Japan's own economic position. Capital-rich nations have tended to lay "the secret foundations," in Karl Marx's words, for the next economic ascendancy. As Venice financed Holland, and Holland Great Britain, and Great Britain America, some Japanese fear the new outflows of capital and producer goods could in the long term hand the keys to future ascendancy to its great competitor.

"United States society is very strong, with all your immigration from other countries. You have the scale and the resources that we simply will never possess," Hiroshi Takeuchi, chief economist for the Long Term Credit Bank of Japan, says resignedly. "The Japanese role will be to assist the United States by exporting our money to rebuild your economy. This is the evidence that our economy is fundamentally weak. The money goes to America because you are fundamentally strong."



The "post-Vietnam" generation of American industrialists has no desire to hand the keys of the future to Asian competitors.

"THE EMPIRES OF THE FUTURE," wrote Winston Churchill, "are the empires of the mind." In this context, American greatness does not mean attempting to recreate the artificial, war-induced hegemony of 1945. Nor does it mean bankrupting ourselves for our competitors' sake, most lavishly in the case of Europe, in order to achieve military control of the planet. And most importantly of all, the American empire cannot preserve itself—as Gore Vidal among others has advocated—by lining up with the other white powers, including the Soviet Union, to defend European civilization against the rising forces of Asia.

To retain its preeminence, America must instead hasten its transition into a world nation. Rather than submitting to the great angst of the Atlantic world, we must begin to identify ourselves more with the Asians, Latins, and Africans, who every day become a greater part of America. They, together with Americans of European descent, are the true sources of our nation's unparalleled technological, cultural, and economic dynamism—the human basis for our "empire of the mind." Similarly, in our foreign affairs, we must turn from our historical obsession with Europe and shift our prime attention to the Pacific that is our future and to a Latin America with which we share growing economic, cultural, linguistic, and ethnic ties.

Pacific and North American countries now represent our largest markets, while Europe's share of U.S. trade has fallen from 36 percent to 22 percent over the past decade. Today our three leading trading partners and export markets are Canada, Japan, and Mexico. Our fastest-growing export markets are Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. Today we already sell more products in Taiwan than we do in Italy; by the beginning of the 1990s it is likely that Taiwan and South Korea will become bigger markets for U.S. products than France, perhaps even larger than West Germany and the United Kingdom.

But more than economic necessity drives us to the Pacific. It is indeed our national destiny. Some such as Allan Bloom see the embrace of a post-European reality as a denial of our fundamental values. But by extending the nation's mission beyond the confines of the narrowly defined "West," the United States, for the first time, could begin to fulfill the aspirations of the 18th- and 19th-century visionaries who saw our destiny as something greater than the western expansion of European history. "We are the heirs of all mankind," wrote Herman Melville, "and with all people we share our inheritance."

We should never forget that America's revolutionary message—its promise of an open economic and political system based on individuals freely associating—remains as relevant and powerful as in any epoch. In Asia, in Latin America, even the Soviet Union, millions seek those very liberties that Paine, Jefferson, and Adams created from revolution two centuries ago.

For in the end, the greatness of America depends not so much on its force of arms, or even the opulence of its economy, but upon the power of its message to the world. Lacking a sense of mission, the nation will likely continue to flounder, unsure even of its true identity. Only by rediscovering our revolutionary charter and applying it to the realities of the post-European world can the United States in its third century enjoy a renaissance equal to the great vision of its founders and the uniqueness of its people. ◻

Joel Kotkin is West Coast editor of Inc. *magazine and coauthor, with Yoriko Kishimoto, of the new book* The Third Century: America's Resurgence in the Asian Era *(Crown).*

BUDGET BALANCING ACT

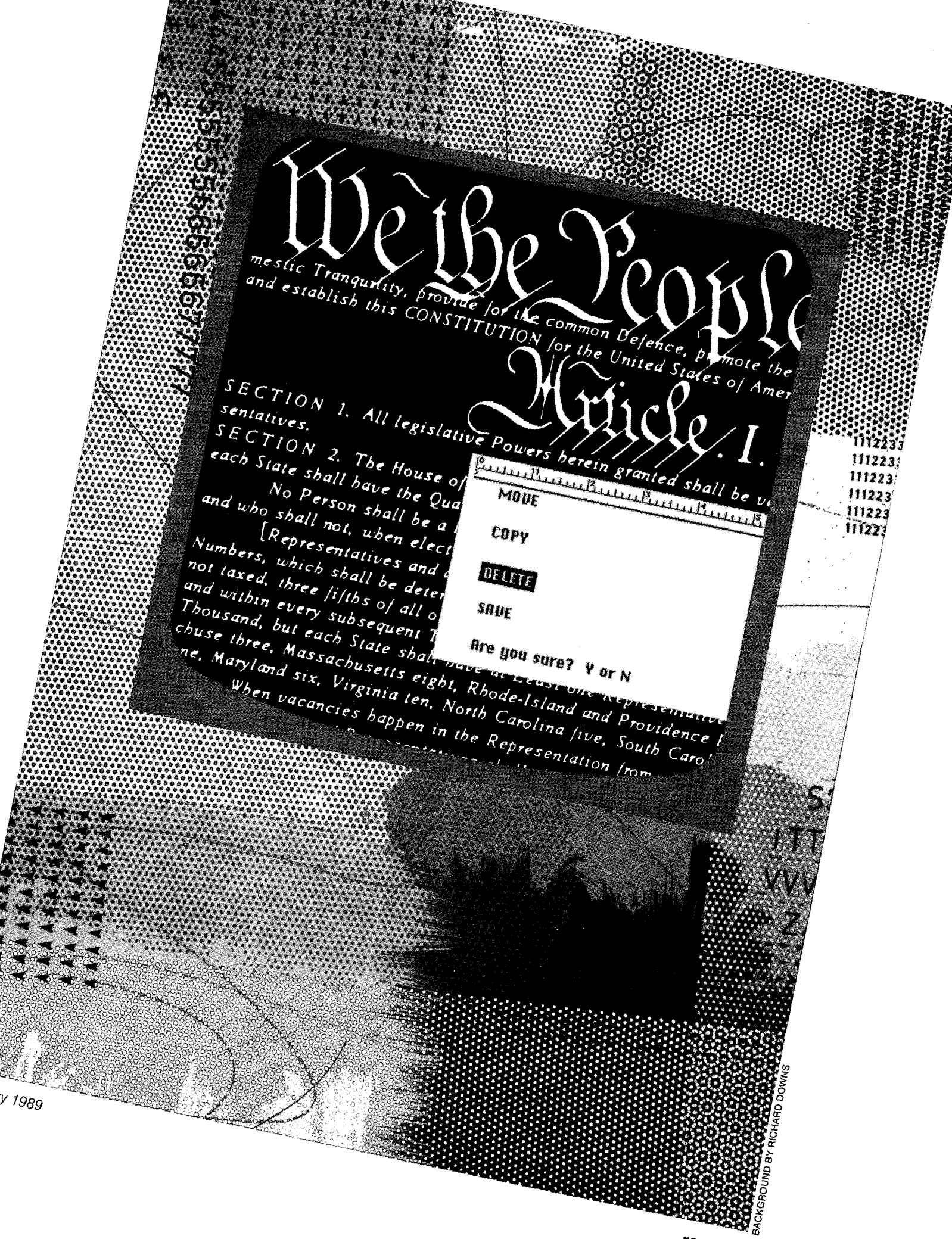
Would a constitutional convention undo everything ...or accomplish nothing?

BY JOHN J. PITNEY, JR.

Supporters of a constitutional convention to write a balanced-budget amendment won a small victory in New Orleans last summer. As in 1984, the 1988 Republican platform urged that if Congress keeps blocking such an amendment, the states should call for a constitutional convention on the subject.

The proposal also posted a gain of sorts in Atlanta. In 1984, the Democrats forthrightly opposed both the amendment and the convention call. Their 1988 platform, though, said nothing about the issue. It merely stated that government "must provide the resources" to pay for social programs. (What do they mean by "resources"—raisins, dates, and hazelnuts?)

Elsewhere, the convention call is having hard


We the People
Article. I.
SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be v
sentatives.
SECTION 2. The House of
each State shall have the Qua
No Person shall be a
and who shall not, uben elect
[Representatives and
Numbers, which shall be deter
not taxed, three fifths of all o
and within every subsequent T
Thousand, but each State shal
chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence
ne, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Caro
When vacancies happen in the Representation from
MOVE
COPY
DELETE
SAVE
Are you sure? Y or N
BACKGROUND BY RICHARD DOWNS

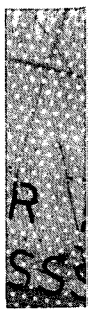
y 1989

times. In a number of state legislatures, lawmakers have introduced resolutions to rescind their states' previous support for a convention call. During 1988, such resolutions passed in Florida and Alabama. In the year ahead, supporters of the convention call will fight for its approval in several states, including New Jersey, Michigan, Minnesota, and West Virginia. Opponents will seek to block these efforts and, if need be, persuade more legislatures to backtrack.

Yet it's obvious to nearly everyone that federal overspending cannot go on. So what's all the fuss about?

The United States has not had a national constitutional convention since 1787. Calling a new one requires support from 34 states; a convention to write a balanced-budget amendment has won in 32 legislatures. If the Florida and Alabama rescissions prove valid—scholars disagree on whether a state can "take back" endorsement of a convention call—the number drops to 30.

Opponents of the idea range all over the ideological map. Some social conservatives hold that a convention could stray beyond its charter and write language threatening, for example, the right to worship. Social liberals worry that it could create a national religion. Lawrence Tribe fears a convention full of supporters of Phyllis Schlafly, who fears a convention full of Lawrence Tribes.



Social conservatives worry that a constitutional convention could write language threatening the right to worship. Social liberals worry that it could create a national religion.

Supporters of the convention call, led by the National Taxpayers Union, say that's far-fetched. But they should think hard about a contrary danger: that the convention would produce not Frankenstein but Gumby. Instead of crafting an airtight lid on federal spending, it could well write a boneless document full of loopholes.

Before considering why the whole effort might flop, look at the "runaway convention" argument. With some variations in wording, the states' applications would limit the proposed convention to writing a balanced-budget amendment and nothing else. Some scholars argue that such curbs could not bind the convention: once assembled, it could propose whatever amendments it wanted. After all, the first constitutional convention turned into a runaway. In 1787, Congress instructed the delegates to meet to revise the Articles of Confederation, but once they reached Philadelphia the delegates scrapped the Articles and started over.

The result is generally deemed a happy ending. Opponents of a new convention warn that we wouldn't be so lucky again. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.) is typical: "Nothing—not our first amendment rights of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, not our rights against search and seizure—none of the rights in the Constitution would be off limits. They all would be susceptible to revision. And I fear that the rights we take for granted could be the first to go."

Until a runaway happens and the Supreme Court rules whether it overstepped its bounds, legal questions about limiting a convention's work will remain open. But suppose the worst: a convention proposed repealing the First Amendment, and the Supreme Court refused to step in. Three-fourths (38) of the states would still have to ratify the change. And ratification would surely crash into the roadblock of public opinion.

Even in the unlikely event that a majority favored such a radical shift, it would still face tall odds. The Founders built a ratification process that enables a dedicated minority to thwart a hot-headed majority. Just 13 states, with as little as 3 percent of the population, could scuttle the new provision. Opponents would have an even easier time if Congress sent the amendment to state legislatures instead of special state conventions. (Only the 21st Amendment, repealing Prohibition, was ratified by special conventions). Except in unicameral Nebraska, both chambers of a state legislature must vote to ratify, so opponents would have to get only 13 of 99 state legislative houses to withhold approval. They wouldn't even need a majority in those 13 houses; merely blocking a vote would have the same effect.

With such a low threshold, opponents could win. Ponder the fate of the Equal Rights Amendment, a less drastic measure. In spite of presidential support and polls showing wide approval of the ERA, its foes mustered enough clout in enough statehouses to kill it.

It might seem that most legislatures balk at enlarging civil liberties (as some claim the ERA would have) but would eagerly take them away. The evidence suggests otherwise, however. Thirty-five legislatures *supported* the ERA, and it's hard to see them voting to repeal the First Amendment.

Another response concedes the improbability of these horror stories but argues that the stakes are so high that we cannot even afford a small chance. Advocates of a convention belittle this argument. Under Article 5, Congress may propose amendments at any time, without calling a convention. Since Congress has had nearly 200 years to hatch evil amendments, ask convention supporters, why haven't we seen any?

Opponents counter that Congress *has* produced some rotten constitutional amendments, including numbers 16 (the income tax) and 18 (Prohibition). And if lawmakers did not have to face reelection, they would probably write new ones requiring taxpayer-funded Jacuzzis in every Capitol office. And no electoral discipline would apply to convention delegates. They would run only once and so would have even greater freedom to act irresponsibly.

This may be the strongest case for believing the runaway-convention fears. It seems much more likely, however, that if a convention took a wrong turn, it would be toward timidity, not tyranny.

In drafting a balanced-budget amendment, the delegates would confront many temptations to weaken it. Everybody who gets special benefits from the federal government would fight to exempt his or her own program from the lid. And all of the beneficiaries would favor "escape clauses" allowing Congress to lift the lid in case of such national emergencies as poor surfing conditions or excessive reruns of "I Love Lucy."

Whether the convention bowed to such pressures would

depend on its makeup. If the delegates were public-spirited defenders of economy and limited government, it would probably try to write a rat-proof amendment. But with enough special-interest pleaders, it would surely cook up rat pudding.

Apportioning and choosing delegates becomes crucial. Article 5 of the Constitution says nothing on the issue, so Congress and the state legislatures would have to decide. Under a bill proposed by Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah), apportionment would follow the Electoral College formula: each state's delegation would equal the number of its senators and House members. This would nod to the one-person-one-vote principle but also give an edge to the smaller states. Some may consider them fiscally conservative, so that this formula would foster a tight amendment. But the six leaders in per capita state spending are Alaska, Wyoming, North Dakota, Delaware, Hawaii, and New Mexico—all small states.

Senator Hatch's bill would let each state decide how to choose its delegates. He favors popular election but does not think Congress should specify particulars—and many scholars believe that Congress lacks constitutional authority to do so.

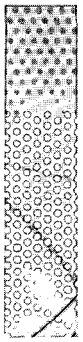
Some state legislatures might opt to appoint delegates. Consider the incentives under this arrangement. For many lawmakers who said aye to a convention call, the vote was a "freebie," a way to strike a pose for a balanced federal budget without taking any real action. But as the amendment moved closer to reality, new considerations would come into play. A strict balanced-budget requirement could slash federal aid and force state lawmakers to either cut spending or raise taxes. Seeking to duck that choice, they would want convention delegates to favor a weak amendment and would choose delegates accordingly.

Does this scenario take too harsh a view of state lawmakers? No doubt hundreds of them sincerely oppose "big government." Between 1970 and 1985, however, total state spending (minus federal aid and inflation) rose 60 percent. In Albany as in Washington, politics is survival of the fattest.

Popular election of delegates doesn't look any better. Although a balanced budget would benefit the country as a whole, those blessings would amount to scant *personal* benefit when split among 245 million Americans. The average citizen would have little material incentive to vote in delegate elections, much less work in a delegate campaign. By contrast, the *costs* of a balanced budget would fall hard on those who enjoy special federal benefits. Their big stake in the outcome would drive them to act. In delegate elections, those most likely to participate would be those most likely to back *foes* of a strong balanced-budget amendment.

Prospects for an ironclad amendment would also suffer from the mode of election. Except in small states, at-large races would be impractical; delegates would run by congressional district. Several states have gerrymandered their districts to elect big spenders, so opponents of a strong amendment would enjoy a head start. More important, many congressional districts rely on federal pork barrels such as water projects and military bases. People running for convention delegate would pledge to support austerity—*except* for programs that bring local bounty.

Advocates of an amendment with teeth could try public education and get-out-the-vote efforts. But federal beneficiaries have their own firepower: the American Association of Retired Persons has 18 million members; the National Education Association, 1.7 million. Such groups could show strength in every congressional district in the country. Fiscal conservatives can hardly make the same claim. Business organizations, despite their green-eyeshade reputation, would probably not shed blood for a balanced-budget amendment. Austerity would hurt the thousands of firms that do business with Uncle Sam. Ideological groups may have long mailing lists and busy offices in Washington, but so far they lack state-level organizations to match the pro-spending forces.



If the delegates were public-spirited defenders of economy and limited government, they would go for a rat-proof amendment. But with enough special-interest pleaders, they would surely cook up rat pudding.

That might be changing. In California, Minnesota, and other states, free-market groups are starting to nourish the parched grass roots of economic conservatism. Besides, say advocates of the convention call, we should ultimately trust the people. Despite the scare-mongering opposition of special-interest groups, the people voted for Proposition 13 in California and Proposition 2½ in Massachusetts. Given a fair chance, the argument goes, the people will pick delegates who really want to curb spending.

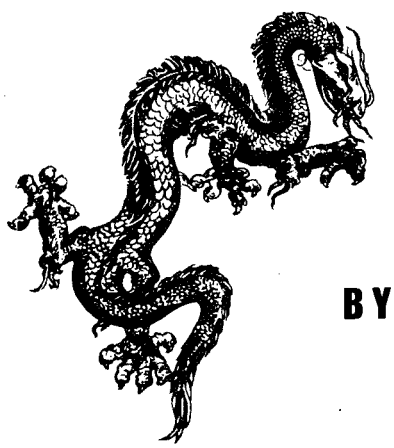
Whatever its makeup, the convention would adopt its own rules of procedure. And spenders are adept at rigging the game. For example, by crafting rules that limit amendment and debate, the House leadership has steamrollered billions of dollars into the budget. Wanting instant passage of a tax hike in the fall of 1987, Speaker Jim Wright faced the hurdle of a one-day procedural waiting period. No problem—he simply had the House declare a whole new day. Wright and his henchmen would happily teach like-minded delegates how to pull similar tricks. So if a convention does take place, a word of warning to supporters of limited government: fight hard on procedure. The spenders will play J. R. Ewing, so don't get caught in the role of Cliff Barnes.

Yet, although a convention might well flop, the congressional route is hardly a better bet. Unless the House ousts Wright for ethical violations—which would be like a bawdy-house firing the madam for promiscuity—he will reign for years and continue to block anything resembling fiscal sanity. And even if Congress did write and approve a balanced-budget amendment, it would probably leave out the teeth. Witness how Congress exempted half the budget from the Gramm-Rudman knife. So despite all its dangers and pitfalls, the convention route still deserves serious attention from supporters of a balanced-budget amendment.

Any path to a more-limited government and lower spending will carry its share of hazards, because the forces of big government know how to fight. The answer is to learn how to fight back. Adam Smith offers one kind of insight, Machiavelli and Sun Tzu another. ◻

John J. Pitney, Jr., is an assistant professor of government at Claremont McKenna College.

Nervously Awaiting 1997



BY BURTON ABRAMS

They're going from British benevolence to Communist control, and the people of Hong Kong are, well...uneasy.

It's often called the Manhattan of the Orient, but Hong Kong is more like Chicago or San Francisco, with a touch of London: superlative architecture, clean streets, a modern and efficient public transport system. It offers dramatic hilltop vistas and restaurants representing every cuisine of the world. Hong Kong is a melting pot where rich meet poor and East meets West, a giant-sized Petri dish in which the world's scientists can observe the culture of almost unadulterated capitalism. And on July 1, 1997, the future of this unique experiment will be entrusted to the largest Communist nation in the world, the People's Republic of China (PRC). Surely the PRC is changing, but the instability of its past raises great uncertainties about Hong Kong's future.

When the PRC raises its flag over Hong Kong, the world will witness one of the strangest peaceful assimilations of vastly different cultures in history. A country that commonly opens and inspects mail, tightly controls and censors the mass media, restricts its citizens' domestic and international travel, refuses to convert its people's currency into foreign exchange, and tells them when they may marry and how many children they may have, will gain sovereignty over a people and territory that currently rank among the freest in the world. The contrast in their economic and human-rights systems could hardly be more dramatic.

A casual observer will see business as usual in Hong Kong these days. The territory remains a shopper's and diner's paradise, and the streets bustle with activity. New construction progresses. A land auction in the New Territories (the relatively undeveloped northern part of the Hong Kong territory) in 1986 brought surprisingly strong prices.

Look more closely, however, and a different picture emerges. The two most noticeable construction projects turn out to be Hong Kong and PRC government projects: the Hong Kong Culture Center and a large Bank of China building. As a subtle warning to the Chinese, Hong Kong newspapers pay much attention to the increasing number of wealthy, professional people leaving the territory. The implication, of course, is that this flight of financial and human capital will only get worse as 1997 approaches unless the Chinese give some assurance that they won't wreck Hong Kong's successful economy.

The uncertainties of 1997 are also reflected in the housing market. One American working and living in Hong Kong told me that his family could not afford to buy, because bankers now treat new mortgages as margin accounts—if property values fall, borrowers must come up with additional payments to compensate banks for the loss of collateral. Since fewer people are willing to purchase housing on such terms, the resultant surge in demand for rental housing has caused rents to skyrocket. They are now about equal to mortgage payments on equivalent housing units, demonstrating a lack of long-term confidence from builders and buyers.

Although the transfer to China is eight years away, many Hong Kong citizens worry about their plight. The few with sufficient financial resources are leaving, or at least planning escapes for themselves and their families should it become prudent. The many, who have no choice, stoically continue with their daily business but openly express their concern to neighbor and visitor alike. The PRC has begun a liberalization program in mainland China, moving slowly toward freer markets and some personal liberties. But if it begins to backslide, and if observers begin to doubt whether China will honor promises to preserve (at least temporarily) Hong Kong's freewheeling system, uneasiness among the residents of Hong Kong could turn to panic as 1997 approaches.

The British-administered territory of Hong Kong consists of Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories (attached to the mainland), and 235 other islands. The British have been in place since 1842, when China ceded Hong Kong Island at the end of the 1839-42 Opium War. In 1860, China agreed to cede more territory (Kowloon) following another war. Then Britain acquired the part of Hong Kong that lies to the north of Kowloon—the "New Territories"—in 1898 under a no-charge, 99-year lease. Expiration of the lease on July 1, 1997, proved pivotal in pressuring Britain to return Hong Kong Island and Kowloon to the PRC, as well.

The British have treated Hong Kong as a Crown colony, administering and governing according to its own laws. These laws are well defined and strongly support personal and legal rights and economic freedom. British citizens have always held the key administrative posts, and local political control has been minimal, though this is changing in an attempt to establish a democratic government before the 1997 transfer.

The PRC has always maintained that the cessions of territory to Britain were not legally binding. But the Chinese patiently awaited expiration of the New Territories lease and made clear that they would not extend the term. This could have been ruinous to Hong Kong (among other things, the PRC could close the airport, which lies within the New Territories). Seeking to avoid the military confrontation and to establish better relations with the increasingly trade-oriented PRC, Great Britain agreed to negotiate.

The British offered to give complete sovereignty over Hong Kong to the PRC in 1997, provided they could continue administering the territory for an additional 30-50 years. This proposal was strongly supported by most Hong Kong citizens, who felt that it would ensure a long period of business as usual. But the Chinese refused this offer, and eventually the two governments struck a deal that carries much more risk for Hong Kong citizens.

Hong Kong found a recipe for success, and the people of the island territory know its essential ingredients.

BURTON ABRAMS

After transfer in 1997, Hong Kong is to become a Special Administrative Region of China. Hong Kong locals will govern, but the chief executive will be appointed by the PRC. A Chinese defense force will be stationed in Hong Kong, and it appears that Hong Kong locals may be subject to the military draft (right now, Hong Kong has no military). The PRC agreed to leave Hong Kong's capitalism in place for 50 years and not to tamper with the basic rights that citizens currently enjoy, such as the right to property, freedom of assembly, and a free press. (These are now included in a proposed PRC-drafted constitution for Hong Kong, along with an unprecedented "economic bill of rights." See "Freedom from Communism?" by Alvin Rabushka, REASON, Dec.). After the 50-year period, the PRC is free to treat Hong Kong as it pleases and is widely expected to fully merge the territory and the mainland.

If the Chinese adhere to the Sino-British agreement, Hong Kong should fare quite well. Capitalism and freedom will survive at least temporarily, and the 50-year moratorium on significant change might give Hong Kong enough time to convince the PRC to tolerate its laissez-fare economy permanently. Optimists believe that mainland China itself will be very capitalistic by 2047. Pessimists—and if the exodus of people and capital is any indication, there are many of them—don't believe that the PRC will honor the agreement.

Certainly, it is difficult to imagine a stranger marriage. Mandarin is the official language of the PRC, while Cantonese is spoken in Hong Kong. Under free-enterprise capitalism in Hong Kong, income per capita is $6,000; under what is still predominantly state-planned socialism in the PRC, it is $300. On one recent human-rights ranking, China is in the same league as Bulgaria and Cuba, whereas Hong Kong, although it lacks democracy, rates very well. Marriage partners, goes the old saying, grow to look and act like each other over time. But can the ideology of 5 million Hong Kong residents dominate and reverse the ideology of 1 billion citizens of the PRC? Can the tail wag the dragon?

"The PRC should be more worried than Hong Kong," said a high-ranking official from the British Embassy in Beijing whom I met while traveling in China. His view was basically: How you gonna keep 'em down on the farm after they see Hong Kong? He believes that cultural and economic interchange between the two will convince all of the superiority of the Hong Kong system.

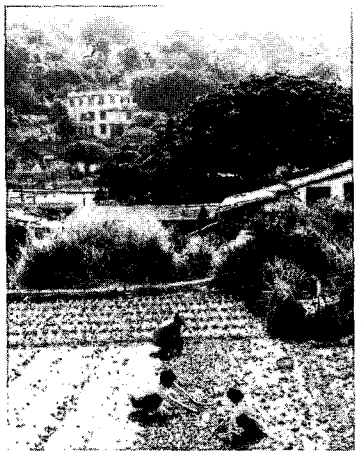
This opinion is rather self-serving. The British do not want to be accused of selling out Hong Kong (this is the complaint of some locals I talked to). So the British argue that their agreement with China is likely to spread capitalism into the mainland. Perhaps it's already working. The vice-mayor of Dongguan, inside the PRC, decries big government and claims that his favorite economist is Milton Friedman. Chalk one up for the optimists.

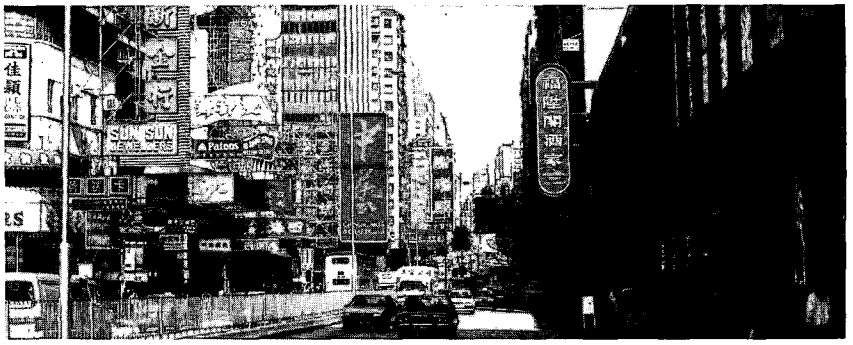
Optimists also argue that China would be foolish to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. Hong Kong is a vital seaport and source for more than a third of China's foreign trade. Its continued economic health is in the PRC's best interest. Pessimists rebuff this argument by suggesting that it is naive to think the Chinese would use free-market, capitalistic criteria in dealing with Hong Kong when these values have never held much sway in the PRC. Why wouldn't the "best" policies for the People's Republic also be the "best" policies for Hong Kong?

Optimists take comfort in the PRC's need to demonstrate that Hong Kong can flourish under its sovereignty if it ever expects to peacefully reunite with Taiwan. But Taiwan is unlikely ever to agree to a peaceful merger. It is an independent country with a sizable military force, not a disarmed administered territory whose fate can be settled by some third party. So if peaceful reunification is not a realistic goal, the PRC will have no reason to use Hong Kong as a showcase.

Pessimists also find it hard to imagine that the paternalistic Chinese would idly sit back and permit a decadent capitalistic enclave in their midst. Hong Kong with its wild discos, topless bars, and tolerant attitudes toward prostitution might be too much for the Central Committee to bear.

British-style buses and rickshaws share Hong Kong's streets today. Will China and its capitalist neighbor coexist as tolerantly tomorrow?





Hong Kong's successful rural and urban economies could be ruined. The prognosis depends critically on the course of free-market reforms in China itself.

Hong Kong found a recipe for success with three essential ingredients: the rule of law, laissez-faire economics, and individual liberty. While traveling in Southeast Asia, I ran into a young man from Hong Kong who was on break from a university in the United States. Discussing the prospects for his country, I asked him whether the PRC's centralized social planning could ruin the economy there as it has ruined the economy of the mainland. His very American reply: "It'd be a piece of cake."

In the final analysis, the prognosis for Hong Kong depends critically upon the direction and magnitude of free-market reforms in China itself. Unfortunately for Hong Kong, many such reforms have stalled, and interventionist policies are regaining ground. A spokesman for the PRC, explaining his government's plans for combating inflation, suggested among other things "strengthening controls over free-market prices."

Deregulation of agriculture in 1980 under the "responsibility system" demonstrated how modernization reforms have engendered such policy reversals despite enormous productivity increases. The government allowed grain prices to rise to their market-clearing levels and gave farmers the freedom to grow whatever products they desired. The Chinese are great lovers of medicinal herbs, and some farmers shifted crop lands into herb production to meet consumer demand. This shift in resources, and the change in absolute as well as relative prices, frustrated the old-line central planners who know the socially "correct" prices and quantities of agricultural outputs.

Rising grain prices also produced a problem because pork prices had not also been decontrolled. With the cost of producing hogs up and their price artificially constrained, shortages of pork developed. Pork is now being rationed, and it appears that the planners will have more influence in mandating farmers' crop selections in the future. These policy reversals point to the fragility of the modernization program in the PRC and must raise the concerns of pessimists over the plight of Hong Kong.

While the outlook for Hong Kong remains uncertain, many people are getting out while the getting's good. A major "brain drain" is underway by yompies—"young outwardly mobile professionals." In 1987, for example, the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation lost 70 of its 600 executives to emigration.

Canada and Australia now are offering visas to investors. If an entrepreneur can pledge approximately a half million dollars in investments, he can obtain a visa without going through the usual immigration channels. Hong Kong officials hope that the emigrants will return once they obtain foreign citizenship and passports. Some have already, but the number of executives leaving exceeds the number who are returning by 760 percent.

Such a visa is beyond the financial reach of all but a few Hong Kong citizens. So the less well-to-do have had to become more creative. Necessity has given birth to "passport babies"—children born abroad, usually in the United States or Canada. The child becomes a citizen of the country of birth and upon reaching the age of 16 can petition for the immigration of his or her parents. The trick, I was told by one woman whose sister was in Hawaii awaiting her child, is to be as late in term as possible without yet appearing pregnant, because immigration officials will refuse admittance to anyone who is believed to be entering the country solely to have a child.

Although this is an expensive strategy, involving transportation, housing, and medical costs of about $10,000 and the risk of substantially higher outlays if there are complications at birth, I was told that passport babies are becoming quite common among families with one or more professionals. While on a plane to Thailand, I noticed the passports of the Hong Kong couple sitting next to me. Their own passports were Hong Kong, but their three-year-old's was Canadian. In 1997, their child will be 12—close to the 16-year age that would ensure immigration status for his parents. In Hong Kong, "family planning" entails an entirely different strategy from the PRC, where family planning revolves around the state's highly restrictive one-child policy.

Despite the available escape routes, the vast majority (97 percent, by one estimate) of Hong Kong's 5 million citizens lack the resources to leave prior to 1997. And after sovereignty is transferred, passport and visa controls, both in Hong Kong and in other countries, will likely be tightened to make exit even more difficult. Under the circumstances, it is remarkable that the people of Hong Kong are preparing for their fate so calmly—no public demonstrations, no efforts to ally themselves with other global powers that might protect them from the Chinese. It seems most citizens of this prosperous speck of land on the South China Sea are resolved to observe patiently the zig-zag course of reform in the PRC and to hope that, after 1997, the tail *can* wag the dragon. r

Burton Abrams is a professor of economics at the University of Delaware.

We now know how politics actually works. Our romance with the state is fading.

Camelot Will Not Return

BY JAMES M. BUCHANAN

Much...becomes possible once the dogma is discarded that profits and self-interest are somehow immoral, and that the public sector is somehow pure and selfless. Africa has paid dearly to learn otherwise.

—"Africans Are Turning to Privatization,"
International Herald Tribune
August 18, 1987

There is hardly a country in the world today, whether a free society or authoritarian, that is not actively considering or moving to depoliticize aspects of its economy. Deregulation and privatization in the United States and the United Kingdom have been joined by similar moves in Latin America and Africa, and even China and the Soviet Union are testing the market waters. These changes have not occurred in an intellectual vacuum.

Economists since 1776—the date of publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*—have provided a progressively more sophisticated model of how a market economy, a nonpoliticized economy, works. That is, if you simply have a legal umbrella that protects property and enforces contracts, and you allow private individuals to make economic decisions about what to produce, how to combine inputs, and so forth, we roughly know on the basis of economic theory of more than two centuries how that system works.

In contrast, however, only in the last two decades have we even commenced to model politicized economies, or the public sector, in any plausibly realistic way. Over more than a century, from the mid-19th through the mid-20th century and beyond, control over economic decisionmaking was increasingly transferred to the political sector without *any* understanding of how politics actually works. Economies in Western nations came to be socialized, in large or small proportions, in the near-total absence of any model of how the state operates. No one seems to have bothered to ask the obvious question: What is the state? How does it work? What is politics all about?

Whole sectors of national economies came to be socialized, nationalized, regulated, or otherwise politicized on the basis of a very romantic notion that the state is monolithic and benevolently despotic. Given this romantic and totally nonscientific, nonanalytic vision of the workings of politics, it is not at all surprising that the failures of markets to match up to idealized standards of performance seemed to offer adequate reasons for politicization. Why not regulate or nationalize an industry if, as unregulated, it seemed not to work ideally? Why not, indeed, if politics was implicitly assumed to work perfectly, in contrast to markets? Socialism did indeed go forward under what F. A. Hayek has called a "fatal conceit."

More recently, politics has finally begun to be realistically and scientifically understood. Beginning in the 1960s, the public choice school of economics put forward the hypothesis that politicians, voters, bureaucrats, and lobbyists act in their own self-interest when participating in the public sector, just as they do when pursuing their private lives. This hypothesis has provided a powerful tool of explanation and analysis of the workings of politics. We now have in place the scientific and technical tools needed to make meaningful comparisons between the operation of an industry in an unregulated, privatized setting and the workings of the same industry in a regulated or controlled setting. We can now carry out comparative institutional analysis, making informed predictions about the properties of alternative decision structures.

As public as well as scholarly attitudes about the workings of politics have shifted over the last quarter-century, we might have anticipated that some practical consequences would follow. The grounds for the debate have been modified. Now the mere allegation, or even demonstration, of market failure is no longer sufficient to establish a *prima facie* case for government regulation or control. As late as the early '60s, economists were making that kind of argument all over the place. But such a case now requires some explicit analytical or empirical support to the effect that the politicized alternative to the nonregulated market will work better. The argument between those who defend the market and those who defend politicized economic decisionmaking is now scientifically joined.

The illusory and romantic bias toward politicization has been eliminated, at least in the academic debate.

The current push toward privatization arises precisely because so many sectors of the economies of both developed and developing countries over the decades came to be politicized with little or no basis in comparative research. But let me be clear: nothing in modern public choice theory allows the conclusion that the unregulated, privatized operation of an industry is necessarily superior, in some *a priori* sense, to politicized or regulated operation. The implication to be drawn from public choice theory is that the politicization/privatization debate should be resolved on a pragmatic, case-by-case basis, with organizational decisions being made only after careful comparison of the alternatives.

Over the century during which politicization proceeded apace with no such comparison, driven largely if not totally by a romantic image of government—aided and abetted, of course, by the self-seeking interests of would-be political managers, functionaries, office-holders, and bureaucrats—an excessively large number of industries were brought under the public-sector umbrella. And if we now make scientifically based comparisons, we should anticipate that industries politicized over this period will increasingly be privatized.

The difficulties in achieving widespread privatization must, nonetheless, be recognized. First of all, although the grounds of debate in the academy and even in journalistic circles have shifted, there is not yet clear evidence of change in the general public's attitudes. Large numbers of citizens hold fast to the romantic image of politics, and the observed record of governmental failure has not yet been sufficiently long-lived to seriously impinge on attitudes.

More important is the barrier represented by the simple self-interest of current beneficiaries of politicized economic activity. These groups cannot succeed in mounting very convincing arguments for staying with politicized operation, but they can build upon the public's fear of the unknown and the uncertain. They cannot restore the romantic vision of politics and governmental control, but they can, and they surely will, attempt to depict the privatization alternative in grotesque terms. The market operation of postal, rail, communication, airline, transport, and other sectors will be painted in romantic images, but with *negative* rather than positive implications.

As public choice theory tells us, the interests threatened by privatization and deregulation are concentrated, and they can be predicted to exert disproportionate influence in national legislatures. By contrast, the interests that are served best by privatization—consumers of the goods and services produced by the industries that might be depoliticized—are not concentrated. Consumers are many and widely dispersed, and there is little in the way of organized lobbying effort behind attempts to privatize and deregulate. So, taking strictly an interest-group model of politics, it is difficult to predict much success along these lines.

On the other hand, ideas do have consequences, and especially over time. We can predict that pressures toward privatization will continue, and in some areas, in favorable circumstances, some reforms will take place, as indeed they have already occurred around the world.

In casual discussion recently, someone remarked that public choice theory involved something akin to a Copernican revolution in our conception of politics and the state. My first reaction was to think that this remark was a bit of exaggerated rhetoric. But as I thought about it further, I commenced to see the appropriateness of the analogy. It is very difficult for any of us, even those of us who have worked in public choice for a long time, to rid ourselves fully and completely of the influences of the romantic model of the state and the political structure. It is difficult even to talk of the state in other than monolithic terms. Even scholars who think of the state as malevolent are as trapped by the romantic-monolithic paradigm as those who consider the state benevolent.

The fact is that the state is not, has never been, and cannot be a monolithic entity. The state is an *order*, which generates patterns of outcomes as a result of interdependent but separate choices by many persons, each of whom acts in a particular role and each of whom seeks to maximize his utility subject to the constraints he faces. The state in this sense is analogous to a very complex market, and it needs to be modeled as such if we are to understand its operations.

Once this genuine revolution in thinking about politics has fully seeped into our minds, we are led immediately to think of reforms in the set of constraints that individuals face in their roles as political actors, as public choosers. We are necessarily led to constitutional economics, or constitutional political economy, to introduce two terms that describe best what I have been doing in recent years.

The turn to privatization throughout the world stems primarily from empirically observed failures in the working of politicized economies that have overreached themselves everywhere. Public choice theory has not necessarily been a causative force in this shift in thinking but has come along and provided an intellectual foundation enabling people to understand what they observe.

The ideas of public choice theory must, however, extend beyond understanding of why politicization works less effectively than promised by the romantically driven models of politics and public administration. The ideas of public choice theory must be extended to the examination of alternative sets of constraints, alternative constitutional structures, that may be introduced to channel the private utility-maximizing behavior of political functionaries in the direction of the general interest. What we desperately need at this stage in our history is someone with insights comparable to the great Adam Smith, but whose attention is focused on the politicized sector of the economy.

But a start has been made. I can be very pessimistic when I look at many aspects of our current economic policy and as I contemplate post-Reagan political economy. But I am optimistic when I compare the discussion and dialogue in the 1980s with that which might have taken place in the '60s or even in the late '70s. Ideas do indeed have consequences, the fatal conceit has been exposed, and the romantic notion will not return. Camelot will not return. ◻

James M. Buchanan is general director of the Center for Study of Public Choice at George Mason University and winner of the 1986 Nobel Prize in economic science. His most recent book is Economics: Between Predictive Science and Moral Philosophy *(Texas A&M University Press). This article is adapted from his address at the Reason Foundation's annual banquet in 1987.*

WAITING FOR KREMLINGATE

BY ADAM GARFINKLE

Many Americans like to "understand" foreign leaders by seeing them as versions of more familiar figures, and so Mikhail Gorbachev has been likened to a number of well-known political personalities. Some see him as a Russian John Kennedy, younger than his forebears, enthusiastic, prodding his people to new frontiers with "new thinking." Others who remember the Great Depression compare Gorbachev and *perestroika* to FDR and his New Deal, a pragmatist turning a decrepit and disheartened society toward new goals.

Still others see a smarter, well-tailored Nikita Khrushchev, a man who seems so much more pleasant in retrospect than he really was, thanks mainly to the unimaginative, turgid dullness of Brezhnev, Chernenko, and Andropov. In that company, by the way, Gorbachev looked good even before *glasnost*. Gorbachev himself subtly links his star to Lenin's—that is, to the Soviet godhead. But few believe that.

On the more suspicious side, a friend of mine likens Gorbachev to Jesse Jackson—sly, plotting, glib, dissimulating, unscrupulous, 1,000 percent political, and decidedly ambivalent in his attitude toward Jews. Finally, one observer has likened Gorbachev to Louis XVI, a reformer bound to be overwhelmed by what he has let loose and cannot control, all to his own considerable peril.

This latter image comes closest to being interesting. From an old-fashioned imperial point of view, the new Soviet leadership is doing what may turn out to be inexplicably stupid things. It imagines that it can exploit the economic potential of the information revolution and other new technologies without radically decentralizing the economy and relying on market mechanisms. It imagines that it can allow political pluralism and still maintain the hegemony of the Communist Party. It imagines that it can release national energies in the Baltic states and elsewhere, not to speak of Eastern Europe, and then shut it all down at reasonable cost if it exceeds the limits of tolerance. It may even imagine that it can accept defeat in Afghanistan without really affecting the thinking of other Soviet clients and their oppositions.

Political elites sometimes do act like lemmings; liberals and their lapsed conservative imitators in the United States proved that in the late '60s and early '70s. Few Americans know who Louis XVI was, so if we must have a Gorbachev analogy, better to put it in more contemporary terms: Gorbachev is the Russian Richard Nixon.

Think about it. Brilliant in foreign policy, but with a country fixing to come apart at home. Trying to end a debilitating insurgent war inherited from the previous regime. Loves detente and arms control. Trying to co-opt left opposition, giving rise to right opposition. People love him and hate him, but no one is neutral; the old guard from which he comes is resentful. The economy is erratic; nobody works. Groups want to secede from the union (black nationalists, native Americans, Alabama; Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia, Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Jews...one could go on). There are promises of lower military spending, higher spending "for the people." A superficial concern for the environment is hip.

And, speaking of hip, there are hippies in the streets—beads, long hair, dreamy expressions, abhorrence for authority, drug culture, even the same music. (Sometimes it seems we exported the stuff and it's just taken 20 years getting through customs.) And amid a lot of noise about new beginnings, nothing is really changing for the better, people start seeing through the images, and leadership begins to reach too far.

But there are differences, one being especially important. We the People could get rid of Richard Nixon, who spoke of law and order out of one side of his mouth and violated it with the other. With some pain and a few detours we put ourselves back on an even keel without fatal damage to our political institutions; and we lost no foreign empire for the wear, because we had none to lose.

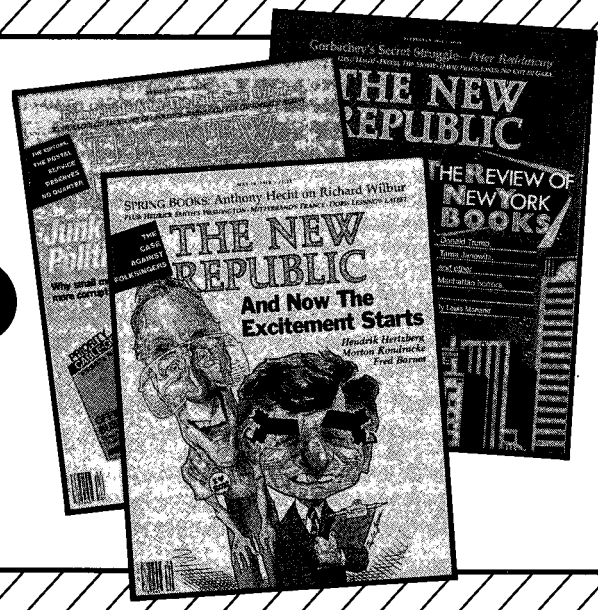
But in the Soviet case, frustrations have built up for a very long time. Social heterogeneity is of the old-fashioned patchwork variety rather than the melting-pot one. There is a foreign empire to lose. Russia has never been ruled by law but always by men; there is no check against uncontrolled upheaval, no anchor of accepted political value to cling to in hard times to restore balance. In short, it is impossible to save the Soviet system by half-measures; it must either return to the many poverties of a strict totalitarianism, or it must leap to revolution.

What will the Kremlin do when it finally understands this? To what measures will Mr. Gorbachev resort when he encounters the limits of his timid reformism?

It is by no means clear that the current delusion will persist, but if it does, if Mikhail Gorbachev is the Russian Richard Nixon, I shudder to contemplate Kremlingate.

Adam Garfinkle is coordinator of the Political Studies Program of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia and a contributing editor of Orbis.

DAVID HWANG



HOT GIFT

The nation's hottest journal of politics, ideas and culture, *THE NEW REPUBLIC* makes an enlightening gift.

For someone who shares your quest for intelligent, provocative reading, there's no better way to say "Happy Holidays."

A welcome challenge for curious minds, your gift of *THE NEW REPUBLIC* will compliment your friends . . . and remind them of your thoughtfulness throughout the year.

Your friends will appreciate *THE NEW REPUBLIC* for the same reasons you do. And you'll appreciate our special holiday rates.

SIZZLING SAVINGS

$56 for the first gift (or your own renewal)

$32 for each additional gift— a sensational savings of 70% off the $2.25 cover price!

Special Holiday Rates!

ACT NOW!

FOR FASTEST SERVICE, CALL TOLL FREE

1-800 341-1522

Offer expires December 31, 1988.

THE NEW REPUBLIC Gift Subscription Form

GIFT FOR

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

MY NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

❑ Include my own subscription at special holiday rates: ❑ New ❑ Renewal

❑ Payment enclosed. ❑ Bill me later.

Attractive gift cards will be sent in your name. NEW gifts begin with 1st January issue. Renewed subscriptions take effect after current subscription expires.

5AGB6 MAIL TO: THE NEW REPUBLIC P.O. Box 52333 Boulder, CO 80321-2333

WITH AID LIKE THIS...

BY MELANIE S. TAMMEN

Farmers in Somalia doubled their sorghum production from 1980 to 1985. Corn output climbed 170 percent. Unfortunately, during the same period, U.S. food aid doubled, and virtually all 1985 and '86 deliveries arrived at the worst possible time, the harvest months, instead of the critical "hungry period" just prior to harvest. As a result, the prices paid Somalian farmers fell, and excess food aid, which cost the Somalian government $2.5 million, spoiled.

Such stories of well-intentioned development efforts gone awry are all too common. A review of audits performed by the Agency for International Development (AID)'s own inspector general reveals that: U.S. food aid continues to depress agricultural prices abroad; subsidized credit is displacing rather than supplementing conventional finance; project designs do not fit local needs; and projects often cannot be sustained after AID assistance ends.

Food relief: *In too many cases, AID's food aid has crippled local agriculture.*

AID, the State Department bureaucracy of over 4,700 men and women that administers all U.S. foreign economic aid, has known for decades how U.S. food aid depresses producer prices throughout the Third World, harming local farmers. Massive transfers of U.S. wheat to India in the 1950s and 1960s put thousands of Indian farmers out of business. Colombia imported over one million tons of U.S. wheat from 1955 to 1971 and fixed the price of it so low that Colombian farmers received 50 percent lower prices. Yet AID continues to pour $1.1 billion a year of food aid into Third World countries.

AID also mismanages the small development banks it funds. These are supposed to lend to small farmers and entrepreneurs—to correct for an alleged lack of credit from domestic financial organizations. Instead, however, borrowers are most often well-connected businessmen who should be able to secure conventional finance.

For example, the inspector general examined a Caribbean bank that AID set up in 1983 with over $17 million in assistance. Although AID intended the bank to finance innovative start-up projects, auditors found 90 percent of its loans were to well-established businesses. Loans were generally not less than $100,000, and several stemmed from relationships with the bank's board members. One board member's nephew received a $50,000 loan to finance equipment for water sports, an activity the bank had defined just three months before as not falling within its lending strategy.

Many AID projects suffer from gross design problems: often the wrong equipment is procured or foreign governments are unable to maintain sophisticated projects in good order. In Jamaica, for example, AID designed a multimillion-dollar agricultural project without consulting the farmers who would use it. As a result, the project included a fancy $154,000 weighing and grading station that vastly exceeded their needs—and for which they could not afford the payments. AID money also bought a $58,000 red-pea sorter; red peas are not grown in Jamaica.

Equally wasteful have been many overly ambitious projects that cannot be sustained after AID assistance ends. Reliance on inappropriate, sophisticated technology is one reason. Another is the frequent failure to design projects in a way allowing them ultimately to "spin off" to the indigenous peoples.

A prime example is AID's renewable energy program, on which it has spent nearly $500 million since 1978. Auditors repeatedly have found that most of the projects require large capital investments, involve complex and expensive technologies, suffer from high operating costs, and are not suited to the needs of the end users. A 1986 audit concluded: "It is highly unlikely [the projects] will ever become commercially viable."

In the Philippines, for instance, AID spent $528,000 to build a single 315-kilowatt electric plant to power a government-owned rice mill using rice hulls as fuel. A solar dryer in the Dominican Republic cost $500,000. A small-scale hydroelectric system in a remote, rural Indian village cost $467,000. The Indian project involved a computer system so sophisticated that software had to be specially developed, and no one in the inaccessible village knew how to maintain it.

In Mali, a $4.5-million AID project aimed to generate gas from animal dung. Auditors found the system was too complex and expensive for intended small-scale uses such as cooking. In fact, the audit disclosed that the machine remains inoperable because "daily inputs of water and dung required for continuous operation were scarce and daily cleaning and filling of the digester were [too] time-consuming."

Congress is as much at fault here as AID. In 1980, it passed legislation mandating "research and development and use of small-scale, decentralized, renewable energy resources for rural areas," even though the esoteric technologies are generally expensive and not ready for mass production.

And Congress vastly overestimated what these technologies could achieve: "Such

AID PHOTO

programs shall also be directed toward the earliest practicable development and use of energy technologies which are environmentally acceptable, require minimum capital investment, are most acceptable to and affordable by the people using them, are simple and inexpensive to use and maintain, and are transferable from one region of the world to another."

Perhaps no single example better reveals the result of contrived development projects than the Jamaica Agricultural Development Foundation. In 1984, AID approved a project proposed by Land O'Lakes Inc., the U.S. dairy cooperative, and Grace, Kennedy & Co., a Jamaican food conglomerate. The idea was to sell surplus U.S. butter and cheese to fund a private, nonprofit foundation that would provide loans, grants, and equity investments to finance Jamaican agricultural development.

But neither AID nor the promoters apparently took account of Jamaicans' preference for butter with a lower salt content than found in U.S. butter or the ready availability in Jamaica of lower-priced substitutes such as margarine. As a result, sales have been very slow and the foundation is unlikely ever to become self-sustaining. As of March 1986, the foundation had more than 1,200 tons of donated butter in storage, the cost of which was a serious drain on its scarce resources. Yet AID poured another $1.6 million into the project, including money to hire a marketing specialist to help unload the donated butter.

As with other financial intermediaries created by AID, the foundation also displaced conventional finance. The Jamaican government had approved the foundation as a venture capital company. But most of the enterprises receiving loans or equity financing were not new ventures but well-established firms that could put up the large amounts of collateral requested. Further, although the project was supposed to focus on the Jamaican dairy industry and small farmers in general, the foundation avoided both. Foundation officials explained that dairy loans are too risky because the Jamaican government holds down milk prices.

Finally, auditors also found that the companies who pushed to get the foundation started remained intertwined with its operations. When the foundation's cheese supply deteriorated, for example, Land O'Lakes recommended that newer cheese be acquired and blended with existing supplies. Since there was no "young" cheese in the U.S. food aid pipeline, the foundation had to purchase the cheese on the open market. Land O'Lakes received the contract—at three times the world market price.

These and numerous other failures show that rather than promoting Third World development "from within," many AID projects vainly try to instantly transplant development from the United States. They are worse than wasteful. They bolster the state-run sector of the economy and often hinder indigenous growth.

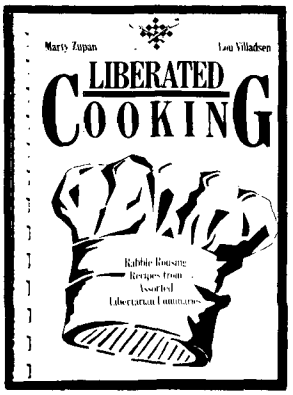
Melanie S. Tammen is a policy analyst at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington. She conducted this study as a research associate with the Heritage Foundation.

"What? Give a *cookbook* for a gift? C'mon. I'm not into cooking."

Perfect! LIBERATED COOKING is a great gift *because* you're the kind of person who'd never think of a cookbook—not even for your mom.

LIBERATED COOKING is unique. It's got recipes—but they're recipes collected from LIBERTARIAN LUMINARIES. From the likes of Ron Paul, Murray Rothbard, Milton Friedman, Barbara Branden, and many more. And along with the recipes, their delightful and revealing comments.

LIBERATED COOKING is fun. It doesn't have recipes for just any old appetizers—it has recipes for ANARCHIST APPETIZERS. Not just garden-variety vegetables—VOLUNTARIST VEGETABLES. Not just delicious desserts—desserts so delicious they had to be DEREGULATED.



LIBERATED COOKING is perfect for your old friends... your office mates...your new friends. Even mom (or dad!). They don't have to be into cooking either—they're sure to enjoy its uniqueness.

The book is nicely spiral-bound. And it's got to be the most unusual collection of recipes you'll ever give.

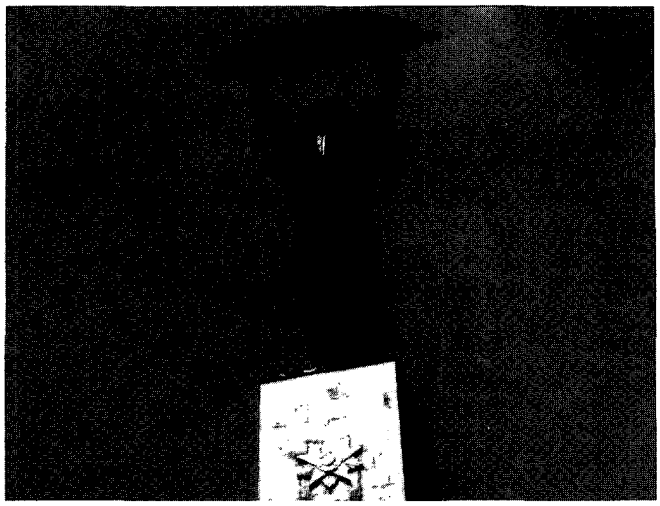
So get LIBERATED—order your holiday gifts today in time to spice up their lives. And treat yourself, too, while you're at it.

Send $8.95 (plus $1.00 postage and handling) per book to: LIBERATED COOKING, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405. (California residents, please add 6% sales tax.)

GUIDE TO GLASNOST'S BEST

BY ALEXANDRA YORK

My guide is young and handsome and smart. His command of English is impressive. He is a law professor at the university. Before that he was a judge (at 24), but a judge is not permitted to work a second job as a tourist guide, and guides make excellent money. So he gave up judging for teaching. As a professor, Mike earns the equivalent of $100 a month. He will make $12 (before taxes and a percentage to the agent) for three hours spent with me.



Budapest: *The monument to Soviet "liberation" of Hungary casts a dark shadow over a once-vibrant city.*

Our first stop is what American guidebooks thoughtlessly refer to as the Hungarian Statue of Liberty. The Soviets built this monument in Budapest after "liberating" Hungary from the Nazis. Flanked by two other monuments, the central figure—a gigantic female holding aloft a laurel wreath—towers above the city, casting her dark shadow over the capitol in no subtle reminder of the Soviet presence. Soviet soldiers with dogs stand vigil at nearby guardhouses.

Mike and I walk past the guards in silence and are alone; the driver has stayed with the car. I begin the questions, wondering whether he will talk. I have never before hired a guide in any city in the world, and I do not hire this one to see the city but to gauge the pulse of Hungary.

What does Mike think of this monument? My guide flashes a winning smile. "Well, up until a few years ago, we were taught in our schools that after the war, our own people 'voted in' the Russian Communist regime because they liberated us. The education system was recently permitted to admit that the voters really had no choice, since there was only that one party on the ballot. It was a long time ago. What can you do?"

Mike is happier to show me Hungarian monuments than to talk about such progressive concessions to the truth. We tour the city of Budapest. Its once-vibrant beauty has faded to gray, like the colorless graveyard of a "dived out" reef where all life-sustaining coral has been pilfered.

Finally, on Castle Hill, Mike realizes that I change the line of questioning when we are alone. "You needn't be suspicious," he assures me. "We're allowed to say anything we want here." The former prime minister had realized that if the people are allowed to complain, joke, and criticize, they will feel free, he explained. "Here in Hungary, we have for some time been given the *image* of freedom. Only after observing our success does the Soviet Union begin to imitate us."

What else can you do to *feel* free? "We can also depart the country for vacations without any problems at all."

And if for some reason the government decided you shouldn't travel, what then? "Well, then, of course, we can't."

And if you want to leave for good? "Oh, if we get permission to emigrate, we can leave."

Is it difficult? "Not as difficult as the other Communist countries. Of course, you cannot return to Hungary for five years, even to visit relatives."

If a citizen emigrates, can he take his property with him? "No, nothing...well, perhaps a few hundred dollars."

Then he can't leave unless he has a means of sustenance elsewhere, right? "For all practical purposes, right. But really, you are too pessimistic. Things are not at all that bad here."

Compared to what? "The other Communist countries. Here in Budapest, almost every family has a car, for example."

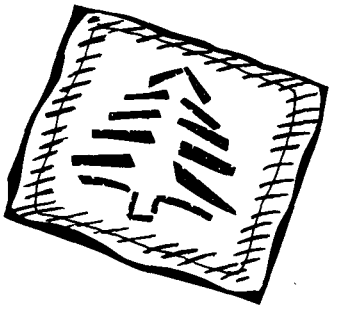
That's true—cookie-cutter stamp-outs of primary colors and no style, but they are transportation. "And you must visit our famous shopping avenue, Vaci Street. There you will see our finest things to buy."

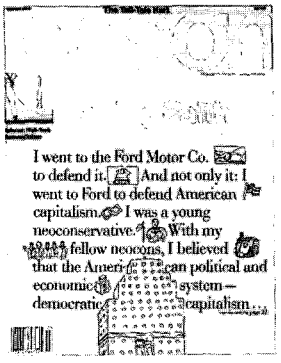
I go to the Vaci Utca shopping area the next day. Most of the clothing is of low quality and lacks style, but the shoppers do resemble those in any middle-class mall in America. An average pair of shoes costs around $30. On $25 a week, that's a lot. The supermarkets are busy, and food seems plentiful, though short on fresh produce. Always mindful of the wage scale, I wince at many prices higher than in New York. But staples are cheap by Western standards. And the availability and quality *are* better than in other Soviet bloc countries.

It is true that Hungary has benefited by permitting a tightly controlled modicum of "private entrepreneurship." But Mike and I agree that this government-created phenomenon is by no leap of the imagination an introduction of capitalism. It is a thin veneer of fascism laminated onto a solid Communist structure. The express purpose is to encourage individually motivated production, and the government can scrape off the shine of profits with taxes.

Permits must be obtained, and Mike tells me, with the authority of a law professor and a former judge, that much of the crime in Hungary is corruption—collaboration between would-be entrepreneurs and bureaucrats attempting to hasten or assure the process with bribes. (Another major criminal activity is the black-marketeering of hard currency.) Once established, a business must follow strict price guidelines and government-set profit margins. Taxes are high—70 percent; down from 90 percent only recently—and arbitrary. Permits may be revoked at any

BARRETT RANDALL




I went to the Ford Motor Co. to defend it. And not only it: I went to Ford to defend American capitalism. I was a young neoconservative. With my fellow neocons, I believed that the American political and economic system—democratic capitalism...

ENLIGHTEN YOUR FRIENDS WITH REASON ALL YEAR LONG

Your gift of a REASON subscription surprises and enlightens all year long—it's the best way to invite your associates, friends, and loved ones into the exciting world of Free Minds and Free Markets—plus, low holiday rates make REASON an affordable gift that's very easy to give!

Now? Yes, now is the time to start your shopping and avoid the holiday rush. Place your gift subscription order today by calling 1-(800)-341-1522. Don't delay—order now and your gift subscriptions will begin during the holiday season. We'll confirm your order by mail, and enclose handsome gift cards you can give or mail to each of your gift recipients. We'll bill you later, or you can charge your gifts on Visa or MasterCard.

S P E C I A L H O L I D A Y R A T E S

One year, 11 exciting issues

First subscription $16

Second subscription $14

Each additional gift $12

(add $8 per subscription outside the U.S.)

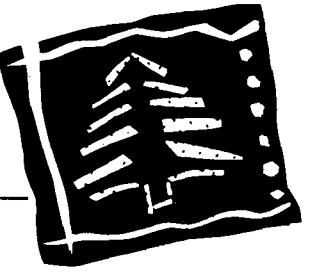
To order REASON gift subscriptions call:

DATATEL toll-free 1-(800)-341-1522
(subscription ordering only)
Hours: 8 a.m. to 9 p.m. (Eastern Time), Monday - Friday
9 a.m. to 5 p.m., Saturdays

We'll bill you later or we'll gladly accept Visa or MasterCard

Or mail your order to:

reason
PO Box 3725, Escondido, CA 92025



time, for any reason...or none.

Later, I hear other residents of Budapest, relatives of friends back home, rail against the city's businesses. Envy runs high in this country where the common man, yoked to a low standard of living, despises those who outsmart, outbribe, or otherwise make the necessary connections to live above the norm. "They're stealing from everyone, including the government," declared one man. "The average worker would have a beard to his ankles before he earned enough money to live as they do." To many educated under the Communist system, equality means equally shared deprivation. They are like the peasant in a Russian joke who, envious of his neighbor's cow, is granted a wish. Instead of asking for a cow of his own, he wishes only that his neighbor's cow be destroyed.

Other Hungarians I talk to, however, are just glad for a place to live and bread on their table. They're willing to pay for economic security in the coin of freedom. With a shrug, they observe that Hungary has always been ruled by someone.

Assuming that I want to browse and buy, Mike invites me into one small shop that sells the well-known Herend porcelain. Now it's his turn for questions.

When I tell him that I will not buy anything beyond necessities during my stay, because I do not believe in contributing to the support of a closed-border system that oppresses its people, he stops and stares at me. I have only come to his country, I explain, to do research on a project critical of such a political system.

"This idea of non-support has occurred to many of us," he says. "We can't understand why America sells grain to the Soviet Union, which aids the Russians in feeding their people. This only results in providing the Soviet government more opportunity to build weapons in order to expand Communism over the free world and still keep their people acquiescent. You even sell them advanced technology! We can't *understand* that.

"Hungary has established the pattern to gain Western help—Gorbachev is now emulating us," Mike continues. "Our former prime minister understood for over two decades that if the government *seems* to honor certain human rights or makes certain *gestures* in that direction, the West will lend money and extend credits. That's one of the reasons we're so much better off here. The other reason is, of course, the so-called private sector. But the loans are crucial. All Communist countries desperately need hard currency."

Hungary does have the highest per capita debt of any Communist country, around $13 billion for a population of 10.6 million. Hungary is also in deep trouble. The new prime minister, Karoly Grosz, dictated price increases last spring "to reduce consumption in a country that has for years been consuming more than it produces."

I express concern about how Mike manages when prices go up 18, 19, 20 percent overnight. Even now, he is living with his aunt in order to rent out his small apartment to two Polish men on vacation. But he smiles. "What can we do? We have no choice."

And this, Mike stresses, is the *best* that can be expected of Gorbachev's *glasnost*—which, Mike reminds me, does not mean "openness" but "publicity" or, in common usage, "propaganda." If Gorbachev institutes enough reform to convince the West to invest in the Soviet system (as in Hungary) and injects a shot of fascism into commerce (as in Hungary), all of this "publicity," this window dressing, will some day only bring the Soviet Union up to the level of Hungary today.

Tipping is what makes the world go 'round in Hungary, right down to the purchase of an ice cream cone or gas for the car. For my part, I am glad to tip Mike generously. In return, he offers me a gift: a small jar of Hungarian paprika. Covering the top, tied with a ribbon, is a hand-embroidered square of cloth. It will be my only souvenir.

I will send Mike other things, I have decided, because I respect his intellectual independence and his defiant determination to enjoy life. If I send packages, will he receive them? Mike laughs, as to a child. "Of *course* I will get them. We are not Russia!"

What if I send a book? "One of yours?" he asks?

No. But I don't think he'll have heard of the novel I have in mind, which is political as well as philosophical in theme. I test the system: What if I send you a book written by, say...Bukovsky? The smile fades; he knows the name. "Well, probably not Bukovsky..." Even this perceptive professor doesn't always recognize the subtle ways in which he has been duped by the image of freedom.

Tomorrow, other American tourists will ask Mike about his country. "Can you own businesses? Can you leave? Can you...?" The answers will all be yes, because that satisfies most and is easiest for Mike. Unless probed deeply and sincerely, this basically honest young man will not think to add, "at the pleasure of the government." And so, many tourists return home from closed-border countries commenting that things aren't so bad. Lack of freedom is not something you can see walking down the street.

My departing train takes me past small towns, neat and pretty with houses all alike. Earlier in my trip, driven by the hotel chauffeur, I had passed miles and miles and *miles* of public housing—identical, rectangular-box apartment buildings.

At the border, straining from the window, I can just barely discern the border markings, behind the tree line and running parallel to the train tracks—armed guards and gatehouses and presumably barbed wire. Way in the distance, because I am looking so carefully, I finally see a perpendicular marker. This is barbed wire I can see. It stretches on and on until distance alone fades it from sight. Years ago, my Hungarian friends at home crawled under and over that wire somewhere along its great length. But most of the world, on either side of the barrier, does not want to be reminded of unpleasant realities, so even the barbed wire is subtle here.

The shock of reentering the West is immediate and immense. It is as if I am emerging from a black-and-white photo into a four-color movie. The roof lines change: a cantilevered one here, a square one there, and—how exciting—one made of funny little triangles. Orange! There's a terrace—there—jutting out from its structure. And another that hides coyly behind a grape-vined trellis. There's a yard with perfect roses and, right next door, a yard with a broken-down, rusting truck. Rust. Beautiful rust! Cars of all ages, shapes, makes, and sizes. *Signs*. Commerce. "Buy me!" "No, I'm better, buy me!" Garish designs. Gaudy colors. Beautiful!

I am back in Austria. Back to freedom and all it means: individuality, diversity, ambition, energy...independence of mind, body, and soul.

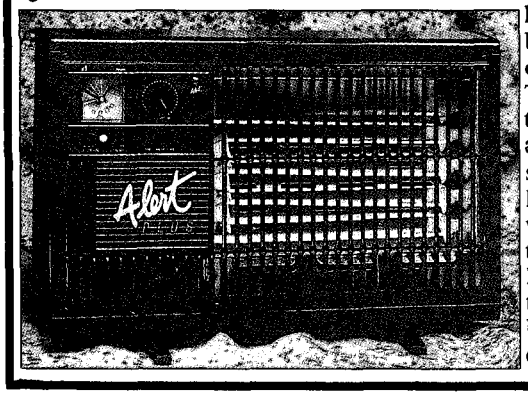
Author Alexandra York lives in New York City. She visited Hungary in 1988.

MAIL ORDER MALL℠

A SELECTION OF USEFUL AND IMAGINATIVE PRODUCTS

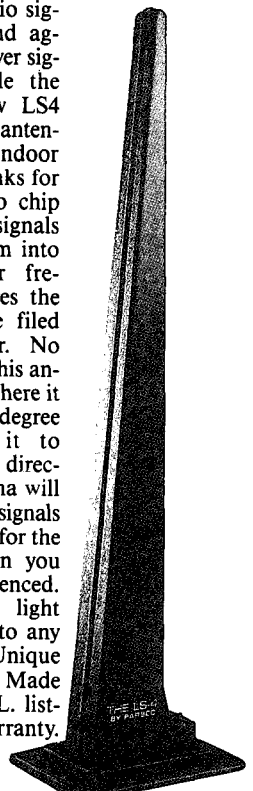
"...A TRUE ADVANCEMENT IN SAFETY"
REPORTS THE NATIONAL FIRE SAFETY COUNCIL

The National Child Safety Council has also endorsed the Arvin Alert Heaters. You'll have all the comfort of this 1250/1500 watt fan-forced radiant heater, with automatic thermostat for constant temperature. And you'll feel secure about its many safety features. A thermal limiter works to prevent overheating, backed up by an audible alarm plus alert light if the unit reaches an unsafe heat zone. The same alarm and light warn you if the heater overturns (even though its stable legs make that unlikely) and a tip-over switch *automatically* turns it off. The brand-new Arvin Alert Plus features an analog clock with nightlight and, perhaps best of all, a 12-hour shut-off timer. Set the dial (like a kitchen timer) and fall asleep in a warm room — worry-free. Perfect for the forgetful: Seniors and anyone who has ever dashed out of the house, only to drive back miles to check a heater. U.L.-listed, 12½" x 18³/₈" x 9¼" deep. **$79.98** ($10.00) #A1785X.



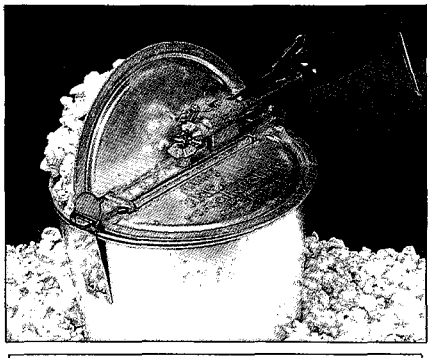
THE BEST RECEPTION EVER!!

Eliminate radio signal fade and aggravating cross over signals that garble the sound. The new LS4 onmi-directional antenna is the only indoor antenna that thinks for itself. The micro chip brain receives signals and isolates them into individual clear frequencies. Features the gallium arsenide filed effect transistor. No need to redirect this antenna. Leave it where it is and its 360 degree radius allows it to receive from any direction. This antenna will boost your radio signals up to 24 decibels for the clearest reception you have ever experienced. Easy to install, light weight. Plugs into any stereo model. Unique modern design. Made in the U.S.A. U.L. listed. 1 year warranty. Dimensions: 3" x4.125"x 17.25". **$58.98** ($5.25) #A1891.



GOURMET POPCORN

Most electric and hot-air poppers "puff" the corn more than they "pop" it, leaving it tough with hard centers. This flat-bottomed stove-top popper reaches 475° and pops full in two minutes with 4 quarts of the best popcorn you ever tasted. Stirring paddle with through-the-handle crank virtually eliminates burnt or unpopped kernels. Wooden handle for safe grip, two dump lids. Pop without oil for delicious diet popcorn. 370 calories per 4 qt. bowl. Produce tender, fluffy, old fashioned movie theater popcorn, **$21.98** ($4.50) #A1876.



ORDERING INSTRUCTIONS AND GUARANTEE. We ship via U.P.S. wherever possible to insure prompt delivery. The price of each item is shown followed by its shipping and handling charges in ( ). Be sure to add the item price plus shipping and handling charges for each item ordered to arrive at the total price. If you are not satisfied for any reason, return the article to us within 30 days, and we'll exchange it or refund the item price.

RADIO/CASSETTE PLAYER

If you're old enough to remember the family gathering around the radio to listen to The Jack Benny Show or Suspense or The Hit Parade, you'll appreciate the care that went into creating this authentic replica of a table-top-size cathedral radio. And it's not plastic! Finely crafted of wood, beautifully stained — like the elegant pre-World War II radios — and boasting a lighted dial, it's handsome enough for your antique collection. But it's designed to be heard as well as seen. That's why it includes a relatively large (4") dynamic speaker, a AM/FM tuner, FM automatic frequency control to prevent drift, and — so you can once again enjoy those old-time radio shows (available on cassettes) — a built-in cassette player, with auto stop. (The slot for inserting the cassettes is on the side of the radio, so as not to disturb the old-time appearance) Standing 12" tall for use on a desk or table, the radio comes with a 90-day warranty.

- "Old Time" AM/FM Radio w/Cassette Player, **$99.98** ($7.00) #A1771.
- Optional six Comedy Cassettes, with case, **$25.98** ($4.00) #A1772.

FOOD FOR WOOD

Most of the convenience waxes you buy actually dry out wood instead of nourishing it. What's the alternative? Our choice is Williamsville Wax. It is made of beeswax and lemon oil, heat-blended with other natural oils. It can be used on any type of wood, any type of finish, on paneling or kitchen cabinets as well as fine furniture. Williamsville Wax is super for restoring neglected or mistreated wood. Two 8-oz. bottles cost **$13.98** ($3.25) #A14312.

MAIL ORDER MALL — On phone credit card orders **OVER $20;** call toll-free **1-800-365-8493**
Above Number is for ordering only, for customer inquiries call (201) 569-9717.

DEPT. RS019; 400 S. DEAN ST., ENGLEWOOD, NJ 07631 — PLEASE FILL OUT THIS FORM AND HAVE IT IN FRONT OF YOU WHEN CALLING

SEND TO (PLEASE PRINT)	ITEM NO.	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION/COLOR	ITEM PRICE	SHPG. & HNDLG.	TOTAL PRICE
ADDRESS						
CITY STATE ZIP						
ENCLOSED IS A CHECK OR MONEY ORDER (NO CASH PLEASE) PAYABLE TO MAIL ORDER MALL						
WE ALSO ACCEPT MASTERCARD OR VISA ACCOUNT #	EXP. DATE		SIGNATURE		TOTAL	

(Sorry, we cannot handle Canadian, foreign or C.O.D. orders.) **100% SATISFACTION GUARANTEED**

© 1988 MAGALOG MARKETING GROUP INC.

ADVERTISEMENT

Ayn Rand Rediscovered

By Robert James Bidinotto

Kira, Andrei, and Leo: *Italian children were named after these almost mythic characters when "We the Living" premiered in 1942.*

The rediscovery of a long-lost film version of Ayn Rand's great first novel, *We the Living*, adds another remarkable chapter to the almost legendary life of this Russian-born novelist and philosopher.

The circumstances of the film's original production, now released in a restored and edited version by Angelika Films, must have suited Rand's sense of dramatic irony. She was an uncompromising advocate of individualism, private property, and capitalism. And though set in Russia in the wake of the Revolution, *We the Living* is a bitter, harrowing condemnation of all forms of collectivism and totalitarianism. Yet the brilliant and faithful film adaptation of her semi-autobiographical 1936 novel was made—without her knowledge or permission—during World War II in Fascist Italy.

Italian director Goffredo Alessandrini wanted to make a statement against fascism, under the guise of an "anti-Soviet" picture. Since America and Italy were at war, no efforts were made to buy the legal rights to Rand's novel: her story was simply pirated.

The more than four-hour-long epic was produced originally as two films, *Noi Vivi* ("We the Living") and *Adio, Kira* ("Goodbye, Kira"), and was shot with almost scene-by-scene fidelity to Rand's novel. Touting top Italian film stars, lavish production values, and an ostensibly anti-Soviet theme, a carefully edited advance version was shown to the censors at the Fascist Ministry of Culture—after which the director restored his original material. The film was completed just a day before its premiere at the 1942 Venice Film Festival, where it won the top award and was described as "superb" and "monumental" by critics.

Public response was wildly enthusiastic. Oppressed citizens immediately grasped that the film was as much a condemnation of fascism as of communism. People began naming their new-born children after the characters in the story and wore "Noi Vivi" buttons bearing the photo of Rossano Brazzi, the film's young star. It was enormously popular for five months. Then legend has it that Fascist censors finally caught on to its "individual versus the state" message, banned further showings, and confiscated the prints.

In the mid-1960s, Erika and Henry Mark Holzer, then Ayn Rand's attorneys, began a long quest to track down the lost film. Finally, in the summer of 1968, they located and purchased the original nitrate negatives, which had found their way into a film vault outside Rome.

Then followed efforts by the Holzers and film producer Duncan Scott to restore and edit the screen masterpiece. Ayn Rand herself initially cut an hour of extraneous, confusing, and artistically unsuccessful scenes. For example, the novel's tragic ending did not translate well to the screen and had to be dropped; the film now ends with a beautifully poignant scene.

Years later, Erika Holzer and Scott finally began the work of subtitling the movie in English. One climactic scene proved particularly challenging: Rand's individualistic philosophy was butchered by the original screenwriters, sweating under the watchful gaze of Mussolini's censors. That scene was rewritten back to Rand's original words and finally redubbed by newly hired Italian actors.

Regrettably, Rand, who died in 1982, never lived to see the release of the restored film. It premiered at the Telluride Film Festival in 1986 to rave reviews—acclaim since echoed at special showings and film festivals in New York, Miami, and Boston. Now, after a 46-year odyssey, *We the Living* has at last opened in major cities in the United States.

Not just a curio for Ayn Rand fans, it's "they don't make 'em like this anymore" entertainment for anyone who loves a great story. *We the Living*—unlike Rand's more upbeat novels, *The*

WE THE LIVING opened in Boston on November 4 at the Coolidge Corner Cinema; in Los Angeles for a six-week run on November 11 at the Royal Theater; and in New York on November 25 at the Bleecker Street Cinema and the Carnegie Hall Cinema.

Ayn Rand: *Her first great novel is captured in a restored film.*

Fountainhead and *Atlas Shrugged*—is an almost mythic tragedy of love, betrayal, ideology, and social upheaval. Filmed in the grand, old-fashioned, extravagantly romantic Hollywood manner, it's the story that *Reds* pretended to be; but unlike that pale pretender, *We the Living* has a plot, style, and grandeur reminiscent of such cinematic classics as *Camille*.

It's the tale of a beautiful young Russian engineering student, Kira Argounova (played by 21-year-old Alida Valli), who openly detests the new Communist regime that has seized her country. One day she meets Leo Kovalensky (Rossano Brazzi)—a bitter, arrogant son of an aristocrat executed by the Communists, and himself a fugitive from the secret police (GPU). Soon, Kira and Leo fall desperately in love and are captured trying to smuggle themselves out of Russia.

Leo is imprisoned, but an influential friend secures his release and the defiant young lovers move in together. But their "bourgeois" backgrounds make it impossible to get decent jobs, and Kira is expelled from the university. Meanwhile, she has begun a wary friendship with a strangely idealistic GPU agent, Andrei Taganov (Fosco Giachetti).

When Leo contracts tuberculosis, Kira tries frantically to get him admitted to a government hospital but is rebuffed—again on ideological grounds. Leo's only chance is an expensive private sanitarium, but Kira has no money. In desperation she resorts to duplicity, involving Andrei, to get money for Leo's secret medical care.

Months later, Leo returns, cured but cynical. Now determined to succeed ruthlessly by the rules of "the system," he takes up dangerous black-market activities. In the wrenching climax, Andrei is dispatched to arrest Leo...only to discover Kira's duplicity.

His former ideals in ashes, and facing imminent liquidation in a Party purge, Andrei defies the system to which he had devoted his life. Meanwhile, Kira must face Leo and make a decision upon which both of their lives depend.

The hallmark of an Ayn Rand story is the spiritual grandeur of her protagonists. Exquisitely lovely Alida Valli is magnificent as Kira, embodying all the strength, sensitivity, and sensuality of Rand's child-woman heroine. Twenty-six-year-old Rossano Brazzi is perfect as Leo, Kira's disillusioned and disintegrating lover. But Fosco Giachetti, as the doomed idealist, Andrei, towers over even his splendid costars. His controlled mannerisms and craggy good looks project an awesome screen presence.

The drab costumes and bleak, claustrophobia-inducing indoor sets—all filmed in stark black-and-white—convey the excruciating desolation of life in a totalitarian state. Unlike King Vidor's frenetic direction of Rand's *Fountainhead,* Alessandrini's approach takes its time, focusing on nuances of character and plot development. For once, the psychological depth of Rand's characters is fully realized; indeed, this is as rich a portrait of the Ayn Rand hero as we are likely to see on the screen in our time.

We the Living is a cinematic jewel that has repaid the 20-year effort to salvage and polish it. It stands on its own as great film. It also stands, in our collectivist era, as a poignant vision of individual courage and nobility.

Robert James Bidinotto is a free-lance writer and lecturer.

Shoot-'em-Ups Go Left

By Richard Marin

Used to be, you knew what to expect from your standard violence 'n' mayhem flick. Law and order served up by cannon-toting "loner" cops like Dirty Harry Callahan. Vigilante revenge fantasies à la Bronson. Foreign affairs? Handled by Mr. "Have crossbow, will travel" himself, John Rambo—the Last American Patriot. The classic western shed its chaps and saddles to keep up with modern times, but almost never its frontier politics: located somewhere to the right of the NRA. Those days are no more.

Clint Eastwood directs a movie—no, a film biography—about a jazz musician, Charlie Parker. Arnold Schwarzenegger flexes his pecs for *glasnost*. The Reagan decade is over; it's twilight in America and Hollywood has already changed the guard. Violent action-adventure at the movies is no longer the exclusive property of good ol' Republican values. The CIA, arms for the Contras, and capitalism are the new enemies to be pummeled and blasted. Peace, love, and understanding? Who need 'em when you've got an AK-47 assault weapon handy. Liberal Hollywood has gotten wise to the tactics of its foes. It has learned how to punch with a mean left hook.

This ultra-violent red dawn started sooner, but the conversion of Eddie Murphy's Beverly Hills cop was a watershed. The original *Beverly Hills Cop*, released during Reagan reelection year 1984, was standard renegade-lawman stuff. Streetwise copper from Motown meets stuffy, by-the-book B.H.P.D., encountering assorted California fruits and nuts along the way. Justice is meted out despite police protocol and judicial bureaucracy. Miranda? Never heard of him. Three years later *Beverly Hills Cop II* followed the formula but with certain alterations. The bad guys were running guns to Central America—and not to good Mr. Ortega. Meanwhile, Murphy's Axel Foley and the mayor practically trip over each other running to help their favorite charity, the homeless. *Cop* No. 1 got raves. *Cop II* was panned but made plenty of money.

It would be nice to think Murphy's "failure" the second time out had something to do with the inherent contradiction of a punishingly violent action movie espousing woolly "liberal" causes. It didn't. *Cop II* was simply a bad movie. Better entertainment has, however, been

minted from the same political coin. *Above the Law*, martial arts "master" Steven Seagal's recent screen debut, gave as good as action-adventure gets. The target of Seagal's awesome rage: the CIA, drug trafficking for covert aid.

Now the CIA might seem an old punching bag. But political or espionage thrillers, depending on whose novels they come from, have traditionally tended to cancel each other out ideologically. In late 1987, the ubiquitous Michael Caine managed to star simultaneously in both a vociferously anti-American screed called *The Whistle Blower* and in *The Fourth Protocol*, a terse spy game by that reliable old cold warrior Frederick Forsythe.

The American-made movies set in Latin America in the wake of Costa-Gavras's *Missing* are sometimes called political thrillers, though they're closer to war-zone dramas—not quite *Missing in Action*, Chuck Norris's body-strewn rescue of POWs in 'Nam, but violent enough to be classified as "adventure" on video store shelves. And armed with an emphatic political warhead.

The heroes of two such films, *Under Fire* (1983) and *Salvador* (1986), aren't muscle-bound Action Men. The public still isn't quite ready for an International Brigade warrior fighting for world Communism. They are, instead, journalists: Nick Nolte a hotshot photographer in *Under Fire*, James Woods a sleazeball gonzo reporter in *Salvador*.

Set in Nicaragua on the brink of the 1979 Sandanista takeover, *Under Fire* sets up Nolte's conversion from neutral, "objective" observer of war and politics to active participant. By photographing a dead revolutionary leader to make him appear alive for propaganda purposes, Nolte tips the scales in the Sandanistas' favor. He is given to some cursory soul searching, until Somoza has fled and the red-and-black flags are waving, when he has the "strength" to conclude: "I'd do it all again."

Woods's Richard Boyle, the real-life journalist on whose story writer-director Oliver Stone based *Salvador*, does less soul searching than manic jabbering. At the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, he rails a blue streak against American-exported "repression." For the most part, his opinions parrot Stone's own well-publicized views. Which is why on the Salvadoran government side, his movie casts the death squads (committing acts of unspeakable horror) and on the revolutionary side noble peasants (fighting on horseback, no less). In El Salvador, Woods is beaten and almost castrated at the hands of government fiends. When he returns to the States, his Salvadoran girlfriend runs into immigration trouble with the border patrol. Armed men handcuff him and take her away. The moral, as always with Stone, is writ large. America is just a jackboot away from fascist repression.

Stone's "ouevre"—*Platoon*, *Wall Street*—has been as entertaining and popular as his politics are infantile. Which means they will be copied. The anticapitalist rhetoric of *Wall Street* was anticipated in an earlier 1987 movie with blunter, more primitive intentions: *Robocop*.

Science fiction movies used to stick to totalitarian dystopias on the Orwellian model—Darth Vader's evil empire, for

No Action Men: *War-zone dramas like "Under Fire" (inset) cast their heroes as journalists.*

instance. *Robocop*, Dutch director Paul Verhoeven's tongue-in-cheek stab at futurism, predicts a world of laissez-faire privatization run amok. The titular tin man—half human, half killing machine—is first invented then hunted by the profit-obsessed police company that built him.

Arnold Schwarzenegger (a Republican, incidentally) took on a similar role, the rebel-gladiator, in *The Running Man*. This time the captalist culprit is television. Unlike *Max Headroom* (the TV movie and series, not the Coke spokesman), in which the tube could still breathe good or evil, *Running Man* is pure prime-time nightmare. Ex-*Family Feud* host Richard Dawson emcees a savage game show, an obstacle course to hell, which Big Arnold must play to survive. So much for Schwarzenegger the All-American *Commando* of 1985, or the ex-Fed dealt a *Raw Deal* in '86. In the 1988 model, *Red Heat*, he and his deltoids defect to the other side of the Iron Curtain. His pumped-up Russian copski comes to America chasing drug scum, not looking for Moscow on the Hudson.

Has the brainwashing begun? Last summer Sylvester Stallone descended on Afghanistan for the usual Rambonic assault, and more people wanted to see a quietly macho Aussie named Dundee.

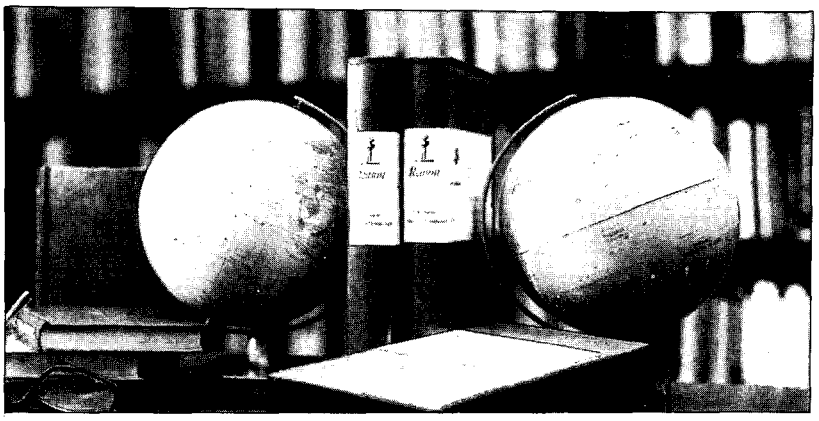
Suggest that Hollywood is soft on communism, and you'll be pilloried for neo-McCarthyism. Fine. Let them have their *Cry Freedom*, their *Killing Fields*, even their *Salvador*. Let Judd Nelson march off on "fact-finding" Brat Pack pilgrimages to Nicaragua. Indeed, let them pick coffee. Only leave cinematic violence 'n' mayhem to the good, Right-thinking folk whose natural ideological turf it is. Otherwise, what next? Martial arts enforcers skipping off to ACLU meetings? Our cannon-toting coppers reading criminals their rights? Yech.

Galling hypocrisy aside. By dispensing culture from the barrel of a gun, blow-'em-away liberalism loses the right to decry Dirty Harry next time he blasts a hole in the soft underbelly of criminal justice. Or John Rambo on his next Red-baiting death binge. As for America's "exportation of violence" to the Third World, which Hollywood's *nouvelle* left is forever fretting about, well, *Above the Law* should play well in Nicaragua.

Richard Marin is television critic for the Washington Times.

The Capitalist Revolution

... now in video



Back in 1947, the heyday of central planning and socialism, F. A. Hayek gathered a small band of writers and thinkers at Mont Pelerin in Switzerland. Their "mission impossible" task: to reverse the worldwide trend toward socialism and restore the vitality of classical liberal ideas of free trade, individualism, and free markets.

Thirty years later, they have succeeded beyond their wildest dreams. Their ideas are shaping policies of deregulation, privatization, and liberalization not merely in the United States and Britain, but in France, Italy, Spain, Hong Kong, India—and even China.

Now you can learn the never-before-told-story of this intellectual revolution in "The New Enlightenment," a six-part video documentary. In it you will meet some of the key thinkers—F. A. Hayek, Milton Friedman, James Buchanan, and others—as well as intellectual entrepreneurs such as Antony Fisher, Irving Kristol, and George Gilder. You will see their ideas in action... in an auto plant in India, in Sony's corporate headquarters, in the part-time Swiss parliament, in Washington, D.C. public housing project, and many other places.

"The New Enlightenment" was produced by London's Diverse Productions, in association with the Reason Foundation. It was broadcast last December on Britain's Channel 4—and quickly became the country's most talked about television series. Denounced by the left-wing dailies but taken very seriously by other media, it was termed "the most exciting and important non-fiction programme on television" by the *Financial Times*.

You can order this unprecedented six-part documentary for showing at home and to your local civic group. The complete set, on three 60-minute videocassettes (VHS or Beta) is just $119.95.

reason

Please send me ____ sets of "The New Enlightenment" on videocassette at $119.95. My check or money order is enclosed. (California residents please add 6% sales tax.)

Format (check one): ____ Beta ____ VHS

Name _____

Address _____

City / State / Zip _____

(Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.)

Reason Foundation, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., #1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405

Mr. Inside Becomes Mr. Outside

By John A. Barnes

William F. Buckley, Jr.: Patron Saint of the Conservatives, by John Judis
New York: Simon and Schuster, 528 pages, $22.95

William F. Buckley, Jr.: *Almost single-handedly, he made conservatism, as opposed to simple Republicanism, respectable again.*

When William F. Buckley, Jr., ran for mayor of New York in 1965, he did exceptionally well in Staten Island and my own Brooklyn neighborhood of Bay Ridge. Both areas were heavily Irish and Italian bastions of the "streetcorner conservatism" that was the antithesis of the "limousine liberalism" epitomized by Buckley's main rival and the eventual winner, John V. Lindsay. A few weeks after the election came the first big New York blackout, with the entire city plunged into darkness—except for Bay Ridge and Staten Island, which weren't hooked into the main city grid. As the agony of the Lindsay years unfolded, we couldn't help wondering if the Almighty hadn't been sending everyone else a message.

How long ago all that seems. It's hard to recall now, but Bill Buckley—as he was and is universally known—was a very big wheel in New York City and state politics in those days. But a decade after his run for mayor, when the conservative movement was demoralized in the aftermath of the Nixon administration's self-destruction and was desperately seeking leadership, Bill Buckley boarded his yacht *Cyrano* and sailed away. In a very real sense, he has never come back. Where has he been, and why did he go?

At first glance, it might seem odd that Buckley allowed John Judis, a member of the staff of the socialist weekly, *In These Times*, to have access to his papers and friends in order to write this biography. Fifteen years ago, Buckley and his family granted a similar favor to a writer named Charles Markmann, who produced a savagely critical book, *The Buckleys*.

Whatever his reasons, it was a smart decision. Judis has written an eminently (perhaps surprisingly) fair, nonjudgmental work that seems certain to stand as definitive for at least as long as its subject is still alive.

What may be at work here is the "horseshoe" theory of ideology: that the ends of the political spectrum are actually closer to each other in some ways than they are to the moderate center. Judis and Buckley are men who obviously like their politics strong, and that may be the source of the affinity. In fact, Judis's primary complaint about Buckley is the same one so frequently heard on the right—that he sacrificed his chances for political and intellectual seriousness in pursuit of comparatively frivolous pursuits like yachting and vicariously living out his fantasies in a series of spy novels.

The disappointment is in many ways understandable, for Buckley is truly one of the most important figures to land on the American scene in the postwar years. There can be no question that almost single-handedly, William F. Buckley, Jr., made conservatism, as opposed to simple Republicanism, respectable again in America nearly 20 years after almost everyone assumed it had been buried by the New Deal.

Unlike many of the "first-generation" conservatives who found a home at Buckley's *National Review* in the 1950s and 1960s, Buckley was not a disillusioned leftist who came by his beliefs the hard way. His was, for all intents and purposes, a political virgin birth. One of nine children of a wealthy Texas oil man, Buckley grew up in privileged surroundings. He was treated to elite English and American prep schools and then, after two unhappy years in the army during World War II, he attended Yale. Still, the Catholic and Southern Buckleys were always made to feel as outsiders among the Protestant New England rich.

That he was not quite a member of the "club" was dramatically confirmed by the hostile reception to his first book, the polemical *God and Man at Yale*, published in 1951. America was then approaching the zenith of what became known later as the "liberal consensus." The welfare state was established to stay and

all that was now needed was a little fine tuning—such as civil rights for blacks—and America would be a virtual Arcadia.

Buckley rudely challenged that view, making the uncomfortable observation that conventional wisdom at the academy (the hostility to religion, for example) was widely at variance with what most Americans believed. As a member of Skull and Bones and former chairman of the Yale *Daily News*, Buckley could not be dismissed as some crank tilting at Ivy League windmills. Yale alumni such as McGeorge Bundy fired back with scarcely concealed anti-Catholic broadsides that make shocking reading today and no doubt confirmed in many minds Buckley's thesis about the Establishment's attitude toward strongly flavored religious feeling.

The hostility, however, made Buckley an overnight sensation, much in demand on the lecture circuit. To the surprise of many who expected a tweedy, prematurely serious young man, Buckley turned out to be sharp, witty, and eloquent, and spoke it all in what sounded like an Anglicized Texas drawl. He had a certain style and grace that drew a sharp contrast with such stereotypical conservatives up to that time as Sen. Robert Taft and John Bricker. When he founded *National Review* in 1955, he sought to redefine conservatism by banishing from it such obnoxious and outmoded aspects as anti-Semitism and isolationism.

Through it all, however, Buckley remained Mr. Outside. Even well into the 1960s, *National Review* expressed skepticism about the civil rights movement at home and even was running articles suggesting that perhaps things in South Africa weren't all that bad. Nevertheless, he eventually abandoned any attempts at defending segregation. This was evidence of Buckley's strong sense of pragmatism.

But it was this desire for acceptance that ultimately began leading him away from the Mr. Outside stance he seemed to relish. His debonair attitude, erudite conversationalism, and flashy style of high living all began to endear him to the "limousine liberals" he had denounced in his mayoral race. He and his wife, Patricia, began appearing more and more frequently in New York's gossip columns as the '60s wound into the '70s. In 1971, he indulged himself publicly for the first time with *Cruising Speed*, a journal of a week in his life. Two years after that, he put out his last serious book about public policy, *Four Reforms*. Two years later came the sailing trip and a book about it, *Airborne*. Next, the first Blackford Oakes novel appeared. Mr. Outside had become Mr. Inside. William Buckley had ceased to offend almost anyone.

While Buckley never wrote the magnum opus summing up conservative thought that he had envisioned writing in the early '60s—because, as Judis convincingly shows, he probably could not bring himself to finally admit his distrust of popular democracy—his influence on the conservative movement cannot be gainsaid. The New Right may despise him for his condescension toward them and dismiss him as irrelevant, but without him it's hard to say where important pundits such as George Will and R. Emmett Tyrrell would have come from. It was the intellectual firepower provided by these men and many others like them in the late '70s that made possible the conservative renaissance early in this decade. It seems highly unlikely that conservatism will soon be relegated once again to the fringes of American politics.

This fair-minded, judicious biography is well worth the time of anyone who seeks illumination about the man who began this process. Until the subject himself weighs in with his own memoirs, it remains the best portrait we are likely to get.

John A. Barnes, deputy editorial page editor of the Detroit News, *worked as a staff assistant at* National Review *from 1979 to 1981.*

Moral Sense and Hard Facts

By Paul Hornak

The Electric Windmill: An Inadvertent Autobiography, by Tom Bethell
Washington, D.C.: Regnery Gateway, 294 pages, $17.95

Can a man who calls his collected newspaper and magazine articles autobiography know what autobiography is? Where is the personal angle in a piece about scholarly doubters of Darwinism? What would a deadpan report on street people tell us about the life and thought of its author? These questions immediately confront the reader of Tom Bethell's first book, a lively compilation spanning nearly two decades of work for periodicals big (*Harper's*) and small (New Orleans's *Vieux Carré Courier*). The answers lie in Bethell's devotion to reporting.

Bethell is, above all, a journalist. That is, he is in no way an academic theorizer or formulator. These pieces originated in the world, not the library, and some retain the rough edges that life leaves on the borders of human events.

His treatments of controversial subjects—abortion, feminism, the "conspiracy" to kill President Kennedy—stem from firsthand experience. When Jim Garrison rubbed his hands at the prospect of arresting an aide to President Johnson, Bethell was there to catch the response of the district attorney's mother: "Oh Jim, I think that's a wonderful idea." (Bethell actually traced leads for Garrison using the code name Sam Spade.) Almost without meaning to, the incident tells more about Garrison's irresponsibility—and the unbridled power of prosecutors—than a shelf of formal essays. Such is the impact of you-are-there reporting: it convinces in a flash of discovery.

The quiet irony of events, reported straight, provides the parting shot: a windmill billed as the death of Big Oil is plugged into an outlet.

Bethell always works from actualities to generalities and, holding to the journalistic axiom that the facts speak for themselves, usually leaves the generali-

ties unwritten. When he does intrude it is as though prodded by common sense.

In the title piece he tours something called the Appropriate Community Technologies Fair. The people staging it power boom-boxes off solar cells and call it "old-fashioned American ingenuity." When Bethell learns Uncle Sam is footing the bill, he does what any self-respecting taxpayer would do. He explodes. "Did these people ever do a day's work in their lives? Ten years ago daddy's credit card paid for everything....These artful dodgers...have discovered that Big Daddy in Washington has the credit card now, and is ready to put it at their disposal until they decide what they want to do when they grow up." But the quiet irony of events, reported straight, provides the parting shot: a windmill billed as the death of Big Oil is plugged into an outlet.

This is by no means "objective" wire-service reporting—if any such thing exists beyond fire and accident stories from the police beat. Here, the reporter doesn't just heap facts, he suggests a pattern. Call it interpretive writing, but not as defined by the *Washington Post*. Most of Bethell's articles first appeared in *The American Spectator*, a magazine that the confused describe as ultraconservative but that only the ignorant would call liberal. He chooses subjects like an inquisitor hunting heresies, and only nonbelievers will be surprised by his barbed asides. The victims, however, hang themselves. No one could have prompted the defrocked priest at a pro-abortion bash to strip off his collar and tell a girl, "Hi, gorgeous." Bethell looks, listens, devastates.

His work will endure precisely because it is the product of a directed intelligence. Inspired by a vision of the world as it should be, he reports it as it is, with regrets. Bethell writes with abundant humor. At a barbecue thrown by Nelson Bunker Hunt he ruminates on the kind of money it takes to serve steak to 2,000: "Thank God envy is not my vice. Someone said it is the only one of the seven deadly sins that gives no pleasure at all."

Bethell is also a master of comparison. On a conspiracy theorist's chances of success, he writes: "Just as Einstein discovered insurmountable obstacles in his efforts to unify the theories of gravity and electromagnetism, so the difficulties confronting Jones Harris will prove in the end insuperable." When social historians try to understand the '80s, the poor-mouthing amid plenty, the protectionist impulse, the pursuit of change for change's sake, they will turn to these journalistic masterpieces, which they will appreciate as much for Bethell's moral sense as for hard facts.

And they will call it autobiography in spite of itself. Bethell would be the last journalist to write an *advertent* personal history; he is too fascinated by the uncanny way the things he sees and hears keep validating his ideals. But this commitment to reporting is self-revelation of a subtle kind. Bethell is saying that his life and work are one. His pursuit of incident also indicates a preference for verifiable evidence and a mistrust of grand designs untested by experience.

The few details we learn about Bethell's life serve chiefly to explain his choice of topics. Emigration from England (1962), apolitical years teaching high schoolers, discovery of *National Review* in the New Orleans Public Library: reading them, we do not wish for more. The articles themselves tell by implication the juicier particulars, right down to his suspicions about Darwinism. A consummate journalist, he is a part of all he has met. The way to know him is not to look for Bethell on Bethell, but to read him as he is here, noting and judging the life of his time.

Paul Hornak is a free-lance writer.

Lenin in Public, Lenin in Private

By Martin Morse Wooster

***The Revolutionist*, by Robert Littell**
New York: Bantam Books, 464 pages, $18.95

***Lenin: A Novel*, by Alan Brien**
New York: William Morrow, 735 pages, $22.95

Forty years from now the most enduring achievement of this decade will probably be the slow recession of the Soviet empire. For Marxism-Leninism is a faith whose true believers have been reduced to aging faculty members and (perhaps) Fidel Castro; Mikhail Gorbachev appears to be the first Soviet dictator to have no need for an ideologist.

It is thus fitting that, in the Soviet Union's sunset, two novels explore that nation's glory days—the days of 1917, when revolution was in the air and the Russian people had not yet been deadened by bureaucracy and hardened by totalitarianism. For the Westerner, looking at a nation where 70 years of socialism has resulted in a Third World economy in which vodka constitutes 15 percent of the gross national product, one question is paramount: How could *anyone* have believed that communism was the answer to Russia's problems?

The two novelists reconstruct the birth of the Soviet Union using substantially different approaches. Robert Littell, a former *Newsweek* writer well known for his spy novels, tells the story of Alexander (Zander) Til, who emerges from the notorious Triangle Shirtwaist fire of 1911 with enough revolutionary fervor to propel him through the Soviet Union's first 35 years. Alan Brien, a British journalist, prefers a more audacious approach. He tells Lenin's story in the first person, through a supposedly repressed secret diary. (I wonder if Brien came up with the idea for the book after the "Hitler diary" hoax a few years back.)

Although Littell is a more practiced novelist, *The Revolutionist* is the lesser of these two books. We see the central figures of the Soviet Union in Littell's novel only obliquely. Lenin, for example, we glimpse mostly from the edge of the crowd. Much of the book describes Zander Til's adventures; through a series of fortunate coincidences popular in this type of fiction, he manages to be in two different cities at key historical moments: Petersburg during the October Revolution and Ekaterinburg when Tsar Nicholas II and his family were murdered.

Through Til's eyes, both events become, not decisive steps in the inevitable march toward socialism, but random pieces

Looking at a nation where 70 years of socialism has resulted in a Third World economy in which vodka constitutes 15 percent of GNP, one question is paramount: How could anyone have believed that communism was the answer to Russia's problems?

of chaos. The October Revolution is portrayed as an excuse for a drunken rout, while Nicholas's murder is committed by a harried provincial leader eager to prevent the tsar's capture by revolutionary forces.

We learn little from Littell about the events he portrays, and much of the "information" he *does* convey is inaccurate. For example, he believes Lenin suffered from an advanced case of syphilis. As a result, Littell portrays a Lenin who was frenzied when patience was required (October 1917) and slothful when a decisive act could have gained him power with little risk (as in July 1917, when an attempt at revolution proved abortive largely because of his inactivity). However, there is scanty evidence for such a theory, and it seems doubtful that a disease-wracked Lenin could have had the stamina to work 16-hour days for nearly 30 years.

One could forgive Littell for his lack of fresh insights if his characters were memorable. But they are not. The most interesting character in a novel brimming with sex and violence is a 90-year-old addicted to his ear trumpet. Littell's novel falls short for education and for pleasure.

Brien's work is more serious—and more innovative. For a novelist to begin his career telling a dictator's story in the first person is a dangerous move. Posing as a political true believer in an unideological age is bold enough, but trying to adopt the customs and habits of a culture and language not one's own takes even more daring. I fully expected Brien's effort to fail.

Lenin: A Novel does have its problems. The first hundred pages, portraying Lenin's life through age 21, are dull. Like most teenagers, Lenin has little to say and says what he does in a pompous, overbearing voice. The last 150 pages, after the October Revolution, are also lesser work. Like most politicians, Lenin is much more interesting (and tolerable) when out of power.

It takes some time to adjust to the rules and leisurely pace of this novel: we see Lenin's character unfold through a series of static tableaux, more like a series of snapshots rather than a smoothly running film. While this method restricts the effects Brien can produce, his rules do bring Lenin's image into sharp focus. Whereas Littell shows us a view of Lenin from the street or the auditorium's back row, Brien lets us enter Lenin's mind.

Brien's method, unconventional in form,

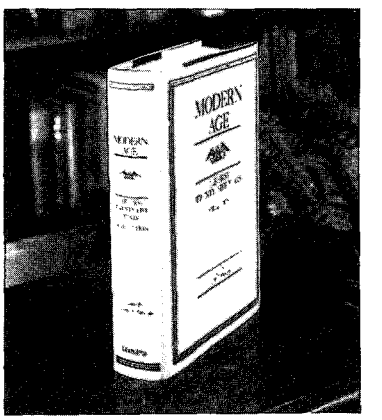
NEW FROM LibertyPress

MODERN AGE: THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS

A SELECTION

Edited by George A. Panichas

These seventy-eight essays present the richness and diversity of recent conservative scholarship. This indispensable sourcebook tackles the pressing problems in American society and the modern world.



Modern Age was founded in 1957 by Russell Kirk, with Henry Regnery and David S. Collier. Most of the major conservative thinkers and themes of the last three decades are represented in nine sections, including the "Roots of American Order"; "Law, Legislation and Liberty"; and "Not for Marx."

894 + xx pages. Foreword, editor's note.

Hardcover $33.00 **0-86597-061-0**

Paperback $11.00 **0-86597-062-9**

Prepayment is required on all orders not for resale. We pay book rate postage on prepaid orders. Please allow approximately 4 weeks for delivery. *All* orders from outside the United States *must* be prepaid *in U.S. dollars*. To order, or for a copy of our catalogue, write:

LibertyPress/LibertyClassics
7440 N. Shadeland Avenue, Dept. Y 108
Indianapolis, IN 46250

Please send me: *Modern Age: The First Twenty-Five Years*

☐ Enclosed is my check or money order made payable to Liberty Fund, Inc.

☐ Please send me a copy of your latest catalogue.

Quantity Ordered		Price	Amount
	Hardcover	$33.00	
	Paperback	11.00	
		Subtotal	
	Indiana residents add 5% sales tax		
		TOTAL	

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Mail to: Liberty Fund, Inc.
7440 N. Shadeland Avenue
Dept. Y 108
Indianapolis, IN 46250

conventional in pace, proves effective. His Lenin is a believable portrayal, conveying the man's strengths and weaknesses well.

What I found most pleasing about Brien's portrait is that it shows a *sardonic* Lenin. I had pictured a humorless hair-splitter, striving to separate himself from his colleagues over trivial points of political correctness. Much of that Lenin is here, endlessly involved with the picayune struggles among Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and socialist revolutionaries. Like the disputes between the socialists and the socialist labor parties in the movie *Reds*, these endless minor quarrels are only of interest to the participants.

It is the *nonpolitical* Lenin that I found most fascinating. I can see Lenin, in that happier alternate universe where he never strived to be a tyrant, as a perpetually contentious professor, perhaps, or an economics columnist, the turn-of-the-century counterpart of *The New Republic*'s Robert Kuttner. Here, for example, is Lenin in exile in 1910 Paris: "Paris is a cruise liner. You meet the same people all the time. When it isn't French intellectuals making brilliant remarks that turn banal in translation, like seaweed out of the water, it is Russian exiles abusing each other in terms that sound as if they came from a special language designed for insults, Desperanto perhaps."

Lenin as press critic, Lenin as literary critic (loving such cerebral detectives as Sherlock Holmes and Arsene Lupin), Lenin as travel writer—these are all strangely attractive facets of his personality. It is only Lenin the politician that appalls.

What can we conclude from these novels? The wrong conclusion is aspiring to *be* Lenin. Lenin's fatal flaw was an excess of self-confidence; no one should be so sure of his political views that he damns others as heretics and infidels. Politics is part of life, but it is far from being all of life.

Apart from what we might already know about Lenin the public figure, Brien also gives us a look at Lenin the private man. This portrayal of Lenin's life provides an instructive example of how not to live. For the Lenin of Brien's novel is never truly happy. Despite victory after victory, the Holy Grail of a perfect communist world always seems just out of reach. Lenin's life provides further evidence that a life *purely* devoted to politics is never satisfying.

The French novelist Stendahl once said that politics in a novel is like a pistol-shot in a concert. In most cases that is true. Novels, at their best, should capture something higher and grander than the mundane world of a congressional committee or the White House. But *Lenin* shows that politics, like any other profession, can provide the raw material for true art.

Lenin is a crabbed epic, but an epic nonetheless. Although the book has only one character, Brien carries the reader through 25 years of turbulent history in an entertaining and totally convincing manner in a work that shows that the traditional novel has not yet become extinct.

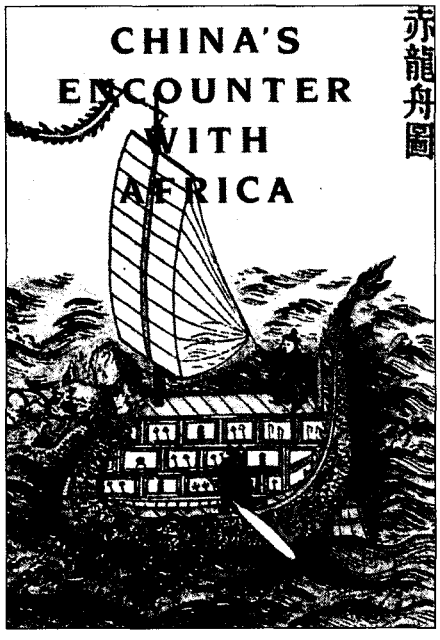
Martin Morse Wooster is an associate editor of The Wilson Quarterly.

Africa's Chinese Tragedy

By Steven W. Mosher

Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa, by Philip Snow
New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 228 pages, $19.95

The history of the world is written almost exclusively in terms of the spread of Western civilization, particularly its ideas about culture, politics, and the economy. Philip Snow deeply regrets this fact. He sets out in his new book to correct it. *Star Raft* celebrates every encounter, good, bad, and indifferent,



between China and sub-Saharan Africa, while denigrating the Western impact. Though intended as anti-Western inquisition, it inadvertently gives the reader an instructive look at what Africa, and the world, would be like if Europe did not exist.

Star Raft takes its name from a Ming Dynasty expedition to the east coast of Africa in the fifteenth century. Led by Zheng He, the Chinese Columbus, this was a colossal enterprise, consisting of 62 galleons, more than 100 auxiliary vessels, and perhaps 40,000 men. It was sent by the Ming Emperor Yong Le not to conquer or explore, nor even to trade or convert Africans to the Chinese way of life, but rather to gain the "symbolic acquiescence" of African princes to his claim to be ruler of the entire world. Once they had, by gifts or guile or force of arms, obtained this, the Chinese left. Five centuries passed.

When the Chinese came again in the early 1950s it was to stay. The People's Republic of China built large, permanent embassies throughout Africa and set about propagating its new political creed. Their goal was to convert Africa and the rest of the Third World to communism, because (as Mao Zedong taught) the First World would then follow. If they were successful, Africa and Asia would be the "countryside" from which the "cities" of Europe and North America could be encircled and strangled.

This missionary impulse, so foreign to the Chinese spirit (they were used to simply letting their high culture draw adherents like a flame draws moths), led Beijing to actively undermine Western rule by supporting communist guerrilla movements. The Chinese, in their radical phase, contributed to the destruction of colonial economies and the radicalization of local politics, making it impossible for departing Europeans to leave in place stable, democratic regimes. Snow details

Beijing's support of such radical groups as the Pan-Africanist Congress in South Africa, FRELIMO in Mozambique, and ZANU, Robert Mugabe's group, in Zimbabwe.

Later, in the '60s and '70s, when most of Africa had achieved independence, China turned to economic aid. Since China itself was an underdeveloped country, most of the aid was funneled into a few showcase projects. They built a railroad connecting Tanzania and Zambia and a stadium in Zimbabwe. There were setbacks during the late '60s, as the Cultural Revolution spread overseas to China's embassies and aid projects, but on the whole Beijing's efforts won for it much good will.

One country that was disturbed by Beijing's growing influence on the continent was the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan. Snow, who dislikes the Nationalist regime for its failure "to free China from the subtler grip of Western finance and Western culture," parodies the ROC's diplomatic efforts to counter the PRC's African campaign. "Sympathetic African leaders were invited to Taiwan...[and warned by Chiang Kai-shek] that they should never let Communists get a foothold in their countries." Snow writes, "Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the president of the Ivory Coast, who came out emphatically for Taiwan, was hailed as the "'leader of the leaders.'" Snow does not deem it worthy of mention that the Ivory Coast is the only African country outside of South Africa that can be judged an economic success, so unhappy is he with that country for continuing to fraternize with Western surrogates.

Snow's real bête noire is the West, whose continued economic success and political influence he resents. Africa "has not been able to free itself from Western influence," he complains. "Most of Africa's states continue to be economically feeble and sustained by constant transfusions of European and American aid. Some of its most anti-Western governments have felt obliged to drop their rhetoric and follow the prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund....Various non-Western peoples are likely...to question the disproportionate share of the world's decision-making power and resources which we...continue to enjoy." Elsewhere he goes even further, speaking in terms of the Third World "destroying

INTERNSHIPS AVAILABLE

Washington, DC free-market organization offers full and part time voluntary internships to students of all majors interested in economic policy. Positions are available at all times of the year. Contact Jerry Ellig at Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation, Department RM, 470 L'Enfant Plaza, East, Suite 7112, Washington, DC 20024 (202) 488-8200

Trade with F.J. Garber

Large and small investors, active and not so active traders can save up to 76%* on commissions on stock trades, (minimum commission is $30). Add to this our many services and you'll see that we're the discount broker with a difference.

F.J. Garber & Co.

310 Terra Centre, Sioux City, IA 51101
Member NASD and SIPC (712)279-8792
*Based on phone survey of 1-14-87

PROTECTION BEYOND POLICE

Trip cord operated tear gas unit stops intruders cold!

Releases 4 oz. of CN type tear gas. Easy to install.

The Sensation Is Unendurable!

No One Can Stay In The House!

Escape Is The Only Thing They Want!

SAFE - EFFECTIVE

TERMINATOR (trip cord activated) $49.95

REPULSAR (electrically activated) $139.95

Brochure (refundable w/order) $2.00

Replaceable Cartridge $9.95

Money Back Guarantee If Not Satisfied

MasterCard VISA

ULTRA TECHNOLOGIES
1251 Toroda Cr. Rd.
Wauconda, WA 98859
509-779-4828

Check local laws before installing

Is dogfighting a victimless crime?

The answer to this question is a shocker, and the process of grasping that answer will do more for your understanding of the free market and the way it works than a hundred books dealing with more conventional issues. The reason: if you can bench press 600 pounds, then you can bench press 60 pounds. This means that understanding one really tough libertarian issue will provide you with more intellectual muscle than understanding a hundred easy ones. And the way to understand the issue of dogfighting is to read *The Dogs of Capitalism,* by Mitchell Jones. If read in the intended order, this is an exceptionally easy book to understand. The style of writing is very clear, and the author is careful to lay the proper foundation before introducing each new idea. As a result, reading *The Dogs of Capitalism* is like progressive resistance exercise for the mind. You may start out skinny, but when you finish the program, your mental muscles will be huge!

* * *

The Dogs of Capitalism, hardcover, 336 pages, 44 illustrations. Price in the U.S. is $24.95 postpaid. Texas residents add $1.50 sales tax. Send order to:

21st Century Logic, Dept. A34
P.O. Box 12963
Austin, TX 78711

our supremacy" and predicting the day when South Africa is "a black-ruled state, rich, powerful and equipped with the nuclear arsenal which the defeated white minority will probably leave behind."

Snow, in short, simply weeps liberal guilt over the long dominance of the West in the rest of the world. He welcomes Europe's (and America's) decline as a necessary atonement for sins of colonialism, imperialism, and wealth.

In fact, however, Europeans did much good in Africa during the age of imperialism when the continent was under their colonial rule. In the words of John K. Fairbank, a Harvard professor and self-described liberal: "The first corrective that comes out of recent scholarship is a reappraisal of imperialism. Hobson, Lenin, and others at the turn of the century were in the thrall of materialistic interpretations of history served by the new science of economics....More subtle effects, like modernization, technology transfer, the buildup of infrastructure and the spirit of nationalism were not of equal concern. In fact the record is now seen as very mixed. Imperialism might be truly exploitive in some circumstances but in others more like a crude form of development. Sometimes it was even materially good for you."

The impression one gets from reading *Star Raft* is that Snow would like Africa (and China) to eschew everything Western, a category that to him includes such things as "Western" financial systems, "Western" capitalism, and "Western" democracy. Compound interest, the rule of law, and the law of supply and demand are Western discoveries, to be sure, but they are not any more culture-bound than Newtonian physics is. By stigmatizing as "Western" the innovations that make possible economic development and human freedom, Snow denigrates some of the finest achievements of the human mind, achievements that even the Chinese Communist Party is now beginning to recognize and adopt as its own.

Snow mostly overlooks the ironies that riddle China's involvement with Africa. It is ironic, for example, that to the extent that African nations adopted China's earlier brand of radically isolationist communism, they postponed their real day of political and economic independence. It is an even crueler joke of history that, in the backwaters of Africa, Maoist ideas that have been abandoned in China still hold sway. While China opens its doors to Kentucky Fried Chicken and students on Chinese campuses agitate for Western-style freedoms, the Pan-African Congress still confuses communism and nationalism, and FRELIMO still governs Mozambique with an iron hand. Such is China's legacy in Africa, and it is not one of which to be proud.

Steven W. Mosher, director of the Asian Studies Center at the Claremont Insitute in Southern California, is currently a Bradley Fellow at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C.

Only the Chimneys Remained

By T. A. Heppenheimer

Uncovering Soviet Disasters, by James E. Oberg
New York: Random House, 256 pages, $19.95

A few years ago, a young woman in the Soviet city of Karaganda was eagerly looking forward to attending Moscow University. When she failed to return home from taking the entrance examinations, her father got worried. Inquiries from Karaganda produced nothing, so he traveled to Moscow. No one at the university had heard of her; she had not shown up for the exams. Her friends in Moscow had had no word of her. The man then sought help from the Moscow police, and one of them delicately suggested he make further inquiries at the airport. There a guard warned him that he was about to learn a state secret, which was to be kept strictly confidential. The Aeroflot flight from Karaganda had crashed, killing his daughter and all others on board.

No one should be surprised to learn that the Soviet Union, an industrial society, experiences plane crashes, train wrecks, mine cave-ins, and the like. But the general and longstanding practice has been to cover them up, to refuse to admit that they happened, or to paper them over with official reassurances.

In *Uncovering Soviet Disasters*, it is James Oberg's contribution not merely to penetrate the cover of secrecy and recount many disasters in detail but to deal with the secrecy itself, allowing us to learn just who benefits from the cover-ups, and how. It is a situation that is not likely to change with *glasnost*, he maintains.

Oberg is an independent expert on the Soviet Union and its technology. He has traveled extensively within that empire and speaks and reads the language fluently. His book on the Soviet space program, *Red Star in Orbit*, is a standard reference.

His methods are those of the professional Sovietologist: to sift through newspapers and other publications, including those from the outlying provinces; to study unclassified CIA materials; to exchange information with other specialists; to collect interviews with émigrés; and to work through the years to piece the resulting snippets into consistent patterns.

He breaks potentially significant ground in discussing how Soviet cover-ups conceal crimes the Nazis never thought of. In his chapter "Nuclear Gulag," he documents the Soviet practice of using *zeks*, slave laborers from concentration camps, as workers in the nuclear industry. "Even the simplest safety precautions (such as adequate ventilation, functional drains, and clean face masks) were ignored despite pleas from informed workers and specialists," he notes.

In one group of uranium mines, some 2,000 prisoners died each month over a period of many years. Their deaths appear to have been agonizing, marked by radiation poisoning with consequent collapse of the bone marrow's ability to produce red blood cells and even destruction of the linings of the intestines. As Oberg reports, "Work teams brought bodies out of the camp every night and dumped them down abandoned mine shafts. Before the workers took the bodies out of the compound, they verified the prisoners' deaths by bashing in their skulls with hammers."

Similar disregard for human life has extended well beyond the forced-labor camps. In a 1958 nuclear accident, huge quantities of high-level waste, derived

from the processing of plutonium, were being stored in solution along with explosive nitrates. The nitrates became hot and detonated, scattering the radioactive wastes over a vast area. As an émigré later recounted, "We crossed a strange, uninhabited and unfarmed area. Highway signs along the way warned drivers not to stop. The land was empty. There were no villages, no towns, no people. Only the chimneys of destroyed houses remained."

In 1979, a similar disaster struck the city of Sverdlovsk itself, from a military laboratory engaged in the cultivation of anthrax bacilli for use in germ warfare. An explosion released some 10 kilograms of anthrax spores, which spread on the wind and contaminated much of the city. Public-health authorities tried to cope with the resulting epidemic, but as many as 1,000 people may have died.

In such instances, of course, secrecy serves the interests of the Soviet state by making it easier for the authorities to maintain control. When Aeroflot experienced numerous plane crashes during the early 1970s, the authorities seem to have taken steps to improve safety; the rate of such crashes fell markedly after a while. But since the party line had denied the occurrence of any such accidents in the first place, Aeroflot's managers had been able to proceed without pressure from public opinion.

Secrecy helps in other ways, too. The Soviet mining industry evidently experiences an appalling accident rate. The reasons include poor mining technology and generally high levels of alcoholism among workers. These problems do not lend themselves to easy solution, so secrecy allows the state to maintain production.

On top of this is the historically high level of paranoia within Soviet officialdom, which leads its air-defense forces repeatedly to shoot down civilian airliners. Nor should one believe that such events are accidental, the result of misidentifications.

Oberg presents the 1978 case in which a Korean Air Lines plane was struck with an air-to-air missile. The Soviet air force pilot had identified the plane as a Boeing 707 and had noted the KAL logo on its tail. This led to the following exchange with ground control:

CONTROLLER: Do you see the target?

PILOT: Roger, it is a civilian airliner.

CONTROLLER: Destroy the target.

PILOT: Did you understand me?

CONTROLLER: Destroy the target.

Fortunately, the missile damaged but did not destroy the airliner, whose pilot succeeded in making a forced landing.

Oberg emphasizes that the new "openness" under Mikhail Gorbachev is largely tactical, directed from above on a case-by-case basis. For instance, in 1986 the cruise ship *Admiral Nakhimov* sank in a collision in the Black Sea. Subsequent press reports emphasized shoddy navigation by the officers of both ships involved. The purpose was clear: use public opinion and press attention to pressure other captains into doing better.

Also in 1986 there was the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. It, too, has been hailed as an example of *glasnost*, being reported extensively. But Oberg argues that the Soviets had little choice. The plume of radioactivity had been detected in Scandinavia and could be traced to the Ukraine; civilian observation satellites, such as the French SPOT, made images of the reactor complex. If outsiders had not learned of the disaster through such means, Oberg suggests, the Chernobyl incident might have been covered up just as the 1958 Urals catastrophe was.

"Since the West cannot wait for the Soviets to move all the way to full openness," concludes Oberg, "we must still take the major initiatives of investigations." Moreover, as a mere tactic reflecting the predilections of Gorbachev personally, *glasnost* is subject to revocation on short notice.

"Let a hundred flowers bloom. Let a hundred schools of thought contend," said China's Chairman Mao in 1957, when he was briefly in a similar mood. Mao soon decided that the "hundred flowers" were actually "poisonous weeds," and he reimposed orthodoxy. As long as there is no rule of law in the Soviet Union, no fundamental commitment to liberty, the same acts of tyranny could come forth anew. That is the real message of Oberg's book.

T. A. Heppenheimer writes frequently on science and space.

Book Hints

The '80s ushered in a new prominence for religion in political discourse. On the one hand, liberation theologists endorsed a Marxist agenda in the name of Christianity. On the other, the Moral Majority took up the conservative torch, again in the name of Christianity.

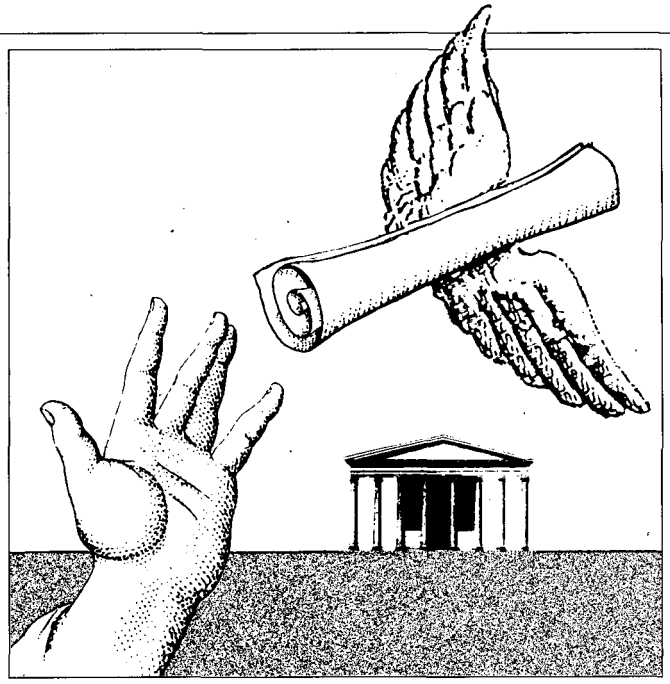
Two new books challenge the political ideologies behind Christian political activists who seek state power to achieve their ends. In **Beyond Good Intentions: A Biblical View of Politics** (Westchester, Ill.: Crossway Books, 271 pp., $9.95 paper), REASON Contributing Editor Doug Bandow argues that "Christians should have no illusions that the state can build an earthly utopia." Jacques Ellul exposes the weaknesses of so-called Marxist Christianity and, like Bandow, argues that the biblical perspective takes exception to all political power, in **Jesus and Marx: From Gospel to Ideology** (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 187 pp., $12.95 paper).

Martin Gardner, dean of the pseudoscience critics, applies his droll wit and common sense to debunking parapsychologists, televangelists, and other like-minded believers in **The New Age: Notes of a Fringe-Watcher** (New York: Prometheus, 273 pp., $19.95 paper). He takes on such ripe targets as Shirley MacLaine (who, among other things, lived on Atlantis in a former life and communes with past spirits through "trance channeling") and exposes some of the flummery espoused by Sigmund Freud and noted anthropologist Margaret Mead.

Charles Wolf, Jr., dean of the Rand Graduate School, brings us back down to earth with an excellent examination of the shortcomings of government efforts to replace or regulate markets in **Markets or Governments: Choosing Between Imperfect Alternatives** (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 222 pp., $18.95). And **Ideas, Their Origins, and Their Consequences** (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 312 pp., $26.50), edited by the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, presents a collection of excellent lectures on political economy to commemorate the work of G. Warren Nutter. Included are presentations by Nobel laureates Milton Friedman, George Stigler, and James Buchanan. **—L.S.**

FINANCIAL AID TREADMILL

BY JOHN HOOD



It's a canon of political economy: if you subsidize something, you get more of it. In that case, we should have a heck of a lot of higher education by now. During the 1980s, federal and state governments have been very generous subsidizers of colleges and universities, as student aid spending has grown at almost twice the rate of inflation.

Over the same period, college costs have skyrocketed. Between 1981 and 1986, the average cost of going to college—including tuition, fees, and living expenses—climbed 57 percent. Well, guess what: that's also about twice the rate of inflation.

American families and taxpayers are running furiously on an education treadmill, expending a great amount of energy and money and getting nowhere. Financial aid spending hasn't made it any easier for the majority of American students to go to college. What aid *has* done is made it easier for schools to raise tuition. Financial aid is largely determined by how much money students need to attend school (rather than, for example, by scholastic achievement or military service). As a result, college administrators have found that by raising tuition, they can get more government money without losing many students.

As it turns out, we've been subsidizing not education but profligate spending by university administrators. And indeed, we now have more of it. According to the Higher Education General Information Survey, the portion of total funds spent on instruction at American colleges and universities declined by more than 4 percent between 1975 and 1985. The administrative portion, on the other hand, increased by almost 13 percent.

Another slice of the academic pie getting larger was "student services," a dubious category that includes institutional financial aid as well as such things as safe-sex kits and peer counseling. The share of expenditures for almost everything else a college does—research, libraries, instruction, operation, and maintenance—has gone down. "At some colleges, institutional student aid now exceeds total expenditures for the educational program," says Michael O'Keefe, president of the Consortium for the Advancement of Private Education. "It makes one wonder what business these colleges are in, higher education or income transfer."

Consider who benefits and who loses in the current vicious circle of financial aid. First, college administrators get more government money. They can then spend it on all sorts of goodies, including themselves. A survey by the College and University Personnel Association found that although faculty salaries rose 5.9 percent from 1986 to '87, administrative salaries rose 7.3 percent and alumni affairs directors' salaries climbed 10.3 percent. And higher tuition levels themselves are frequently prized by administrators as a way to boost their schools' prestige.

Administrators also go on construction binges. Northern Illinois University opened a new engineering school, at an estimated cost of $65 million to $85 million over the first 10 years even though there were 1,700 empty places in three other engineering programs within a 60-mile radius. And in a much-publicized incident, Harvard University managed to spend $100,000 building a guardhouse that a Boston hotel later duplicated for $5,000.

Government officials also benefit from the aid rat race by being able to claim they are "solving" the college cost crisis. During the past election, both parties promised more government programs to help families afford the cost of sending children to college—despite the fact that such programs would almost certainly lead to more tuition hikes.

Who loses? Taxpayers do, big time. Even the rationale given for why education should be publicly funded—that an educated populace benefits everyone—is rendered moot, since taxpayers are paying not for more education but for wasteful spending. And young people who don't go to college have to pay ever-increasing amounts to subsidize universities and fund the education of other young people who may one day compete with them in the job market.

Middle-income families also suffer. Those students who don't qualify for much financial aid have to pay the higher tuition, too. Given the importance our society places on a college degree, families are making sacrifices and keeping the kids at school, but the tradeoffs are painful—and tragically, unnecessary.

There are many ways that government could help students afford college, such as giving businesses tax incentives to fund prospective employees' education—sort of a GI Bill for private industry. But when government, having no incentive to be frugal with its money or selective about the recipients, becomes the major financier of higher education, prices rise and waste abounds. Administrators and bureaucrats gain at the expense of students, families, and taxpayers. And the subsidy treadmill continues to spin.

Editorial Intern John Hood is a student at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Un-common policy sense.

The Theory of Market Failure edited by Tyler Cowen. A dazzling collection of essays that question the "public goods" rationale for government services. Contributors include Paul A. Samuelson, Ronald H. Coase, Harold Demsetz, James M. Buchanan, and Robert W. Poole, Jr. 1988/384 pp./$21.75 cloth

The Theory of Free Banking by George A. Selgin. The first comprehensive study of unregulated banking, where banknotes are issued competitively and there is no central bank, this book demonstrates how competition will automatically keep money supply in line with demand. Throughout the book, the author uses examples from history to buttress his theoretical arguments. 1988/218 pp./$33.50 cloth

Monopoly Mail by Douglas K. Adie. This volume reviews the many failures of the U.S. Postal Service—an inability to innovate, soaring labor costs, huge deficits, chronic inefficiency, and declining service standards. The author blames most of these problems on the Postal Service's monopoly status and makes the case for deregulation, divestiture, and privatization. 1988/197 pp./$34.95 cloth/$19.95 paper

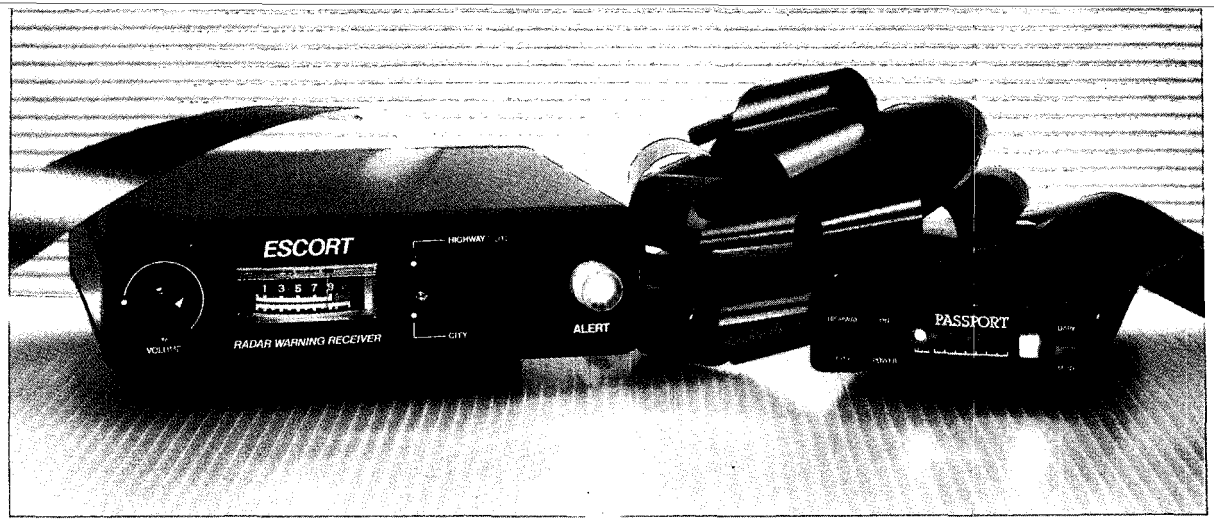
Equity and Gender by Ellen Frankel Paul. An examination of the case for and against comparable worth, which concludes that comparable worth is a backward-looking approach that will not achieve what its proponents promise. 1988/143 pp./$24.95 cloth/$12.95 paper

The Mirage of Oil Protection by Robert L. Bradley, Jr. A thorough rebuttal of the case for a tariff or quota on imported oil, along with a free-market agenda for relieving the depressed oil industry. 1988/254 pp./$23.50 cloth/$11.95 paper

Assessing the Reagan Years edited by David Boaz. Thirty-one leading policy analysts look at the successes and failures of the Reagan administration in tax policy, spending, foreign and military policy, trade, education, regulation, civil rights, entitlements, and other areas. 1988/431 pp./$29.95 cloth/$14.95 paper

Cato Institute, Dept. R
224 Second Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

CATO INSTITUTE



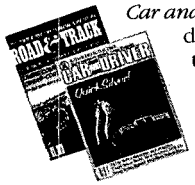
Overwhelm your favorite driver

Five reasons this season for Escort and Passport

#Joy 1 Giving the Very Best

Remember those few times when you came up with the perfect gift? The recipient was so overwhelmed he kept asking how you knew...

That's the effect Passport and Escort have on drivers, because drivers know what the experts say about radar detectors.



Car and Driver has tested radar detectors six times in the last ten years, and we've come out on top each time. In 1987 they even called us "the leader of the radar detector industry." And *Road & Track* has rated us "the leader in detector technology."

For the driver on your list, no other gift is as sure to please.

#Joy 2 The Exclusive Source

We designed Passport and Escort, we make them in our own factory in Cincinnati, and only we sell directly to you. Not through stores.

Our direct connection to you assures fast response on orders, on questions, and on repairs. We take care of everything.

As a gift giver, you benefit even more. It will be obvious you cared enough to seek out the exclusive source. And there's no chance the recipient will see Passport and Escort in the after-Christmas clearances.

The exclusive source: our headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio.

#Joy 3 Incredibly Easy Shopping

Just call us toll-free (1-800-543-1608). You'll avoid traffic jams, parking hassles, pushy crowds, and long lines.

Instead you'll find a friendly radar expert who can answer any questions you may have. Just pick up the phone.

If you order before 5:00 PM eastern time Monday through Friday, we'll ship your package the same day. A gift box is available at no extra charge, and we pay for delivery by UPS.

(If you're really in a hurry, see Joy #4.)

Call toll free 1-800-543-1608

#Joy 4 You Can Have It Tomorrow

We know that sometimes the holidays can sneak up, and waiting even a few days for the UPS truck is waiting too long. But here's the solution:

Through a special arrangement with Federal Express we can offer their overnight delivery for only $10. Just call us before 8:00 PM eastern time, Monday through Friday, and your package will arrive the next day. If you're a last-minute shopper, you've come to the right place.

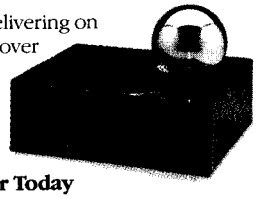
UPS shipping is free. Overnight delivery by Federal Express is only $10.

#Joy 5 Satisfaction Guaranteed

Here's the best joy of all: Passport and Escort are guaranteed to please. Quite simply, if for any reason you're not totally satisfied within the first 30 days, just return your purchase.

We'll immediately refund all your money and all your shipping costs. There are no hidden charges. Passport and Escort are also covered by a full one year limited warranty.

We've been delivering on these promises for over ten years. Call now and see how easy gift-giving can be.



Order Today

TOLL FREE...1-800-543-1608
(Mon-Fri 8am-11pm, Sat-Sun 9:30-6 EST)

VISA MasterCard DINERS CLUB INTERNATIONAL

PASSPORT®
RADAR·RECEIVER

Pocket-Size Radar Protection
$295 (Ohio residents add $16.23 tax)

ESCORT®
RADAR WARNING RECEIVER

The Classic of Radar Warning
$245 (Ohio residents add $13.48 tax)

Cincinnati Microwave
▶Department 601319
One Microwave Plaza
Cincinnati, Ohio 45249

© 1988 CMI